FORUM

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Peace by statute

Peace with Germany: An American Draft

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A FEW weeks ago our press duly recorded the plight of a homeward-bound French transatlantic airplane. We read with relief that the stricken craft, having sent out frantic appeals for aid, managed to reach safety by throwing overboard every bit of dispensable weight. A day or so later an additional news flash reported that among the ballast thus discarded were thousands of printed copies of the recently concluded peace-treaties with the former satellite states of Hitler-Germany: Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland. Rumor had it that other documents of considerable interest were also dumped into the ocean along with those treaties. Such documents were said to have included certain American drafts connected with the preparation of the present Moscow conference dealing with the Austrian and German peace problems. The following represents what may have been (but in all likelihood was not) an American draft for such a peace.

PEACE STATUTE

(regulating the main questions arising out of Germany's launching World War II)

PREAMBLE

The German people, led by the National Socialist party which they themselves put into power and maintained, prepared for aggressive warfare against their neighbors for many years. The annexation of Austria in 1938 was followed by the dismemberment and subsequent occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938-1939. Civil liberties inside Germany were suspended. Racial, religious and political minorities were deprived of even the most elementary human rights. Although some Catholic and Protestant ministers occasionally rose to protest the religious implications and applications of the German government policies, the churches as a whole never fought the nationalistic, militaristic and inhuman activities of

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the government. Having begun actual warfare in 1939 with the attack against Poland, the German people supported the prosecution of that war with overwhelming unanimity, on the actual battlefronts, as well as at the home front in mine pits, factories and on the farms. Such mental reservations as a good many Germans claim to have held the time against their government did not manifest themselves in effective manner. German armies fought to the bitter end. German factories worked as best they could to the very last moment of the war. No German rebels ever stormed a single concentration camp to free its inmates. The German people, a few individual cases to the contrary notwithstanding, have only one regret today: that they lost the war. Therefore, they naturally cannot and never will accept such consequences as their actions have brought upon themselves. No German government exists, and none that may be formed in the foreseeable future will ever obtain popular support for the ratification of any peace treaty drawn up on the basis of these historical facts.

Under such circumstances we, the undersigned United Nations which have been at war with Germany, have come to the conclusion that a peace treaty of the traditional kind cannot be concluded with Germany. Instead, we consider that, under the Briand-Kellogg pact which Germany signed voluntarily in 1929, she has committed the crime of launching an aggressive war. Civilized society does not found its peace and security upon the conclusion of treaties with criminals. It imposes its will upon them in a legal manner and enforces its statutes by police, with the support of public opinion.

We have, therefore, decided to substitute a Peace Statute, hereafter called the *Peace Statute*, for the usual form of a peace treaty. Like any ordinary statute, the Peace Statute, is not an *ex post facto* law. Its chief aim is to prevent a repitition of such horrors as Germany has visited upon Europe in the last war. It does not mean to prevent the economic recovery of Germany. Like any other statute, the Peace Statute can only be maintained by the consent of those who have adopted it. If such consent is openly or tacitly withdrawn by any sizable state or group among the signatories, the Peace Statute will inevitably become unenforceable. The signatories realize that fallible human beings cannot draft a perfect instrument. It is their sincere belief, however, that, as long as this Peace Statute is enforced, Europe and the world will not be faced with German military aggression.

PART I

Article I

The state of war existing between Germany and any of the signatories of the Peace Statute terminates upon the signing of this Statute by two-thirds or more of the United Nations. No German government will be requested to express its formal accession to the Statute, but may at a later date unilaterally declare its acceptance of it. German deeds, however, not words alone will be the basis upon which the signatories will

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judge Germany's adherence to the Statute.

Article II

All German prisoners of war and German nationals other than war criminals will be returned within 90 days after the signing of the Peace Statute by two-thirds of the United Nations which have been at war with Germany. We do not believe that the use of German slave labor (or of any slave labor) is compatible with the principles for which the victorious nations have fought.

Article III

Germany will remain occupied by military forces of the U.S.S.R., the United States, Great Britain and France for such a period of time as will seem necessary. Evacuation of Germany will eventually be effected simultaneously by the four occupying powers.

Article IV

During the time of the occupation, the relations between Germany and the outside world will be subject to supervision by an Allied Council for Germany consisting of nationals of the occupying powers and such neighboring states as have been at war with Germany. Each power shall have two voting delegates. The Allied Council, by a vote of at least two-thirds of its members, can veto any rules, ordinances, laws or regulations of a German local, regional or central government. Delegates to the Allied Council should be civilians appointed by the respective governments. They should possess specific qualifications such as a thorough knowledge of German, German history and literature, German law and customs, as well as Germany's economy. Until such a time as an effective German government can be formed, the Allied Council will act as a quasi-cabinet. It will elect its own chairman for a term of not less than six months. The chairman will be the official spokesman for the Allied Council. He has to resign when two-thirds of the members of the Council join in a vote of non-confidence.

Article V

The Allied Council for Germany will reside in Germany. It will set up its own procedure for the recruiting of its personnel and will finance its expenses from German revenue. It will act in consultation with the military commanders of the occupying powers. It will render to the United Nations an annual public report on conditions in Germany.

Article VI

The period of allied military occupation will be followed by one henceforth referred to as the *transition period*. This period, which is not to exceed five years from the termination of the military occupation this time, will be devoted to the gradual re-integration of Germany as a self-governing sovereign state into the international community. At the end of the transitional period, Germany may apply for admission to the United Nations organization.

Article VII

It is not the desire of the United Nations to reduce Germany to an economic level below the one attained by her in 1929. Nor is Germany to remain dependent upon financial and economic support from them. In order to facilitate the economic rehabilitation of Germany, the following principles shall govern

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the policies of the Allied Council during the period of military occupation and during the transitional period:

1. Reparations, indemnities, confiscations of any kind will not be demanded of Germany. Such reparations, indemnities and confiscations as have been imposed upon Germany since the cessation of hostilities, however, will not be affected by this clause, except where territorial changes are concerned. Those will be dealt with in Part III of the Peace Statute.

2. The forcible deportation of German language minorities is unworthy of our age and is compatible with the principles avowing the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Individuals of such minorities remain, of course, subject to punishment according to the laws of the country concerned. No *ex post facto* legislation against such individuals or German language groups, however, should govern the proceedings against them.

3. Expediency demands, however, that deportations of German language minorities which have been effected under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement shall remain in force. The signatories of the Peace Statute obligate themselves, however, to seek ways and means of alleviating the effects of such measures upon German economy. This policy is one of enlightened self-interest on the part of the victors and should not be considered as condoning the treasonable behavior of large sections of German language minorities prior to and during World War II.

4. Inasmuch as Germany for years to come will be in need of economic support from outside, the Allied Council for Germany will be charged with the task of continually ascertaining the minimum needs of the German people and their economic system. The Allied Council and the governments of whose delegates it is composed will bear in mind, however, that the economic rehabilitation of Germany's economy, while it must be based on increasing the industrial output of Germany, is less important than the preservation of the security of Germany's neighbors. All modern industrial systems lend themselves to use for military purposes of one kind or another. It will, therefore, be impossible to prevent an eventually self-governing Germany from possessing a large number of factories capable of being converted to war production. Only the perpetual vigilance of the signatories of the Peace Statute and their steadfast willingness to subordinate their own differences to the common interest of preventing another outburst of German aggressiveness will make the Peace Statute effective. Articles XVI-XX will implement these basic policies.

Article VIII

All assets of the defunct German government which are located outside the 1933 borders of Germany are forfeited to the signatories of the Peace Statute. The same applies to all foreign assets of any kind of German nationals, resident in Germany on September 1, 1939. Former inmates of concentration camps may appeal at that time to the Allied Council for exemption from this clause. These assets are to be used for the partial relief and rehabilitation of those individuals

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who, regardless of race, creed and nationality, have been victims of German violations of the rules of civilized government in peace and war. Claims of such victims are to be presented to the Allied Council for Germany which is empowered to set up machinery for dealing with them. Furthermore, claims of such victims for recovery of those rights or property which they held inside Germany prior to January 30, 1933, shall also be presented to the Allied Council within one year from the signing of the Peace Statute. They must be settled before the end of the transition period.

Article IX

Within a month after the signing of the Peace Statute, all restrictions on German communications other than such as are dictated by reasons of security and economic necessity shall be abolished. The Allied Council for Germany will draft the necessary regulations. It will operate them in as intelligent and human a fashion as is compatible with human frailty and the heavy task imposed upon it. All censorship of German communications by the Allied Council (or its agents) ceases upon termination of military occupation.

Article X

The foregoing nine articles comprise the *transitional clauses* of the Peace Statute.

PART II

Article XI

A [illegible]-governing Germany will be re-established during the transitional period. Local, provincial, regional administrations and a central provisional government, staffed exclusively by German nationals, will be ready to take over the control of German affairs at the end of that period. The basic principles of individual human rights and liberties (as set forth in the American Constitution and its amendments) will be made an integral part of any new German constitution. The signatories of the Peace Statute guarantee these rights to all German nationals. Any attempt on the part of any German government to abridge or curtail those rights and liberties in time of peace will be automatically considered a breach of the Peace Statute to be dealt with by the United Nations Security Council as the legal successor of the Allied Council for the enforcement of the Peace Statute.

Article XII

The German people during the transition period shall decide whether or not they prefer a federal or a centralized type of government. This choice must be made by democratic processes without intimidation of any kind. The signatories will consider any German attempt to establish a totalitarian form of government, or its actual equivalent, a most serious breach of the Peace Statute. Economic and military measures to be taken against a totalitarian Germany will be determined by the Security Council. The veto power shall not be used in such a case, but a two-thirds majority of the Security Council shall suffice for the imposition of such penalties or preventive action as may be deemed necessary.

Article XIII

The German government (and the government of any German

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state) may employ a police force of not more than an over-all total of 100,000 men for the whole of Germany, armed only with light arms and such small planes, motor vehicles and vessels as are required for the effective policing of German coastal waters and German territory. The establishment of any semi-military or veterans' organization will *eo ipso* constitute a breach of the Peace Statute and provoke immediate action by the United Nations Security Council.

Article XIV

The German government guarantees to all German nationals unhindered egress from, and entry into, Germany in times of peace. It also must permit free travel to and from Germany to all nationals of the signatories of the Peace statute as well as to any nationals of any member state of the United Nations organization. In turn, German nationals except for security reasons, shall enjoy similar privileges of peaceful travel in the states of the United Nations.

Article XV

The Security Council for a period not exceeding 25 years from the end of the transitional period shall have the right of maintaining in Germany such agencies as it deems necessary for the supervision of German trade, commerce and industrial production or any other purpose. The German government will lend every support to the work of these agencies. Any attempt to withhold information, supply fraudulent data or to impede the proper working of these agencies shall be considered a breach of the Peace Statute.

Article XVI

Inasmuch as Germany's coal deposits are an indispensable factor for the economic life of all European countries, all coal-mining activities shall be coordinated and supervised by an international coal corporation in which the management and control of all German coal production shall be vested. This corporation shall be composed as follows: one-third of the board of directors may be German nationals, the remaining members shall be appointed by the signatories of the Peace Statute. The Coal Corporation shall keep in mind that coal is one of Germany's chief export items and must provide the funds for the import of the food and other raw materials needed by the German people. The establishment of the Coal Corporation will serve a dual purpose. It will prevent Germany from using its coal as a means of political pressure and will help to forestall the use of this vital raw material for major military purposes on the part of Germany. The executive members of the Coal Corporation will not be under German jurisdiction. Foreign and German nationals on the board during the transitional period will be responsible to the Allied Council, and after the end of the transition period, to the Security Council of the United Nations organization.

Article XVII

Any attempt to circumvent the effective control of the Coal Corporation will be a breach of the Peace Statute. Serious violations of this type upon the decision of the proper authorities, i.e., the Allied

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Council or the Security Council, may lead to the forfeiture of the German government's ownership of the German coal mines and to the elimination of all German nationals from the board of directors.

Article XVIII

The expropriation of all German coal mining properties which are still privately owned shall take place within one year from the date of the signing of the Peace Statute. The former owners shall receive such compensation as the Allied Council for Germany will determine. In no case, however, shall any individual or family receive capital compensation. Instead, life-term annuities of not more than $10,000 per annum (or its equivalent in German currency at the end of the transition period) shall be awarded at the discretion of the Allied Council. These annuities shall be subject to regular taxation and shall be paid in monthly rates by the Coal Corporation. The Coal Corporation will begin operations at the earliest possible date.

Article XIX

Parallel action will be taken concerning chemical and pharmaceutical industries. A Chemical Corporation will be established. Its composition and program will correspond to those of the Coal Corporation. No new chemical factory, workshop or laboratory may be established in Germany without a license from, and supervision by, the Chemical Corporation. Private ownership of such plants may be granted, if no more than 10 employees are involved. Violations of the principles and regulations governing the Chemical Corporation will be punished in the same fashion as those directed against the Coal Corporation. The research division of the Chemical Corporation will be supervised by a special agency, composed exclusively of non-German nationals. The Chemical Corporation will supervise any atomic energy production which the Allied Council (or the Security Council) may permit in Germany.

Article XX

The conversion of the coal and chemical industries of Germany into German government property under the control of international experts will, at least, prevent the unhampered use of these vital industries for German war purposes. Any attempt on the part of the German government to interfere with the free operation of the international Coal and Chemical Corporations will constitute *prima facie* evidence of German aggression. Economic and military reprisals, to be determined by the Allied Council (or the Security Council after the transition period) will be applied at once.

Article XXI

Germany's territorial borders shall be the same as of January 1, 1936, except for the area formerly called East Prussia which is to be divided between Poland and the U.S.S.R. The German population still remaining in that area shall be transferred to Germany to be rehabilitated there under the terms of article V. This territorial change is not based upon any legal, historical or humane principles, but merely upon the factual recognition of existing conditions.

Article XXII

The German-Polish frontier shall

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be the same as in 1772, the year of the first Polish partition. Poland has no claim whatever to Pomerania and Silesia. The fact that she has been forced to make great territorial concessions to Soviet Russia is not the fault of Germany. Moreover, German economy urgently needs the agricultural produce of those areas which for centuries have been indisputably German by any known standards. Furthermore, the severance of Pomerania and Silesia from Germany would create an indelible German resentment against Poland. Indelible resentments of this kind have invariably led to European wars and will inevitably do so in the future. Polish settlers who have come into Pomerania and Silesia since the cessation of hostilities will be resettled in the Polish part of former East Prussia or in other Polish areas. The Polish government will receive financial and other assistance needed for the rehabilitation of such Polish nationals.

Article XXIII

The Saar region, inhabited as it is by an indisputably German population, shall remain part of Germany. The coal mines of this area will become part of the German coal industry controlled by the international Coal Corporation which will channel an adequate flow of coal to French industries.

Article XXIV

Territorial claims of a minor nature pertaining to rectification of the German borders with Denmark, Holland and Belgium shall be adjusted by the Allied Council on the basis of existing populations. German populations affected shall be resettled within Germany according to the principles of article I.

Article XXV

German economic relations with Austria will be subject to the supervision of the Allied Council and (after the transition period) to that of the Security Council of the United Nations organization. An economic union between Germany and Austria will only be permitted within the framework of a general European customs' union which may be established eventually. Any attempt to restore the political union between Germany and Austria will constitute a *prima facie* violation of the Peace Statute. Immediate action shall be taken by the Security Council to frustrate such an attempt by all means at its disposal.

Article XXVI

Germany shall be entitled to a fair share in international commercial aviation. All airplanes used for such purposes must be acquired from other countries with special permission of the Security Council for each year's quota of airplanes, parts and other essentials purchased by Germany. German nationals shall not be deprived of acquiring the knowledge and experience of aircraft production, but shall be prohibited from practicing it in Germany. No airplane or rocket production of any kind shall be authorized in Germany for at least 25 years from the end of the transition period.

Article XXVII

Germany may re-open and use her shipyards for the construction of merchant vessels. These are an essential part of German economy and

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must provide transportation and funds for needed German imports. The Allied Council and the Security Council after the end of the transition period shall have the right to inspect and otherwise supervise German activities in any way they may deem necessary. The building of vessels for other than commercial purposes in German shipyards will constitute a breach of the Peace Statute.

Article XXVIII

The Allied Council (and, subsequently, the Security Council) shall provide for the establishment of an equitable rate of exchange for the German currency. It shall introduce tariff levels which will enable German industries and agriculture to return to productive status. German tariffs, customs and exchange rates shall be such as to prevent German "dumping" on the world markets. The Economic Council of the United Nations organization and the World Bank are authorized, with the approval of the Security Council, to render such advice and financial aid to Germany as may be necessary during the transition period.

Article XXIX

The Peace Statute may be revised by the signatories at any time during the transition period. The revisions must be approved by the Security Council. The veto power shall not be used in such instances. A two-thirds vote will be sufficient. The German government or any other signatory may ask the Security Council to revise the Peace Statute at any time after the transition period.

Article XXX

Fully aware of the fallibility of human judgment, the signatories consider the Peace Statute as being far from perfect. The attempt to give the world security from a repitition of German aggression will be useless in the long run unless aggression, be it ideological or military, is abandoned by every government as an outmoded means of furthering the interests of any class or nation.

* * *

If some such draft went to the bottom of the Atlantic, it may have amused any fish literate enough to read it. We, the best informed citizens of any country in the world, in the meantime humbly await whatever morsels of information about secret covenants secretly arrived at behind the impregnable gates of the Kremlin may be deemed innocuous enough to be imparted to us at this time. From past experience, we know only too well that even in a democracy "we the people" have far less influence upon the fateful decisions which mold our destiny than we are prone to believe in our more roseate moments. We are on the road to the political unification of our planet. The European settlement upon which we have embarked in so taciturn a fashion is bound to have irrevocable influence upon the ultimate end of this road.

Small boy's definition of etiquette: "the noise you musn't eat with when there's company."

—*Farmer's Journal*

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The I.T.O. is a step forward

Prospects of Reciprocal Trade

By Colston E. Warne

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NEGOTIATIONS will be launched this month looking toward the reduction of world tariffs. Eighteen countries, which have in the past accounted for about two-thirds of world trade, will participate. The prime initiator of this effort to lessen the burden of trade barriers to world commerce is the United States. "This is the largest reciprocal trade-agreement negotiation yet undertaken," asserts our Department of State. "Nations are emerging from the dislocations of the war. They are now making crucial decisions as to the nature and direction of their economic activities. There exists a major opportunity to reduce world trade barriers and establish desirable patterns of future world trade. To seize this opportunity, the trade-agreements program, limited during the war, is now being resumed on a broad scale." In preparation for this conference, the United States Committee for Reciprocity Information held hearings in January at which interested groups indicated their reactions to tariff reductions.

This effort to free international trade from its traditional fetters is authorized by the Reciprocal Trade Act of 1945, under which the President may, within a three year period, negotiate, by international reciprocal agreements, reductions up to 50 per cent in the duties existing in the United States as of January 1, 1945. These agreements are to be subject to an "escape clause," insisted upon by Republicans. Under this clause, tariff reduction which, as a result of unforeseen circumstances causes serious injury to domestic producers, can be modified or withdrawn.

America's effort to secure a multilateral reciprocal trade pact is but one phase of a broad effort to secure international economic cooperation. The roster of participants is an imposing one. It includes Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Union of South Africa, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom. Beyond it lies a sequence of steps which are leading toward the chartering of an International Trade Organization by the United Nations. Proponents strongly contend that "were it not for this program, the world would be headed straight toward the deliberate strangulation of its trade through the imposition of detailed administrative controls. And with the strangulation of trade, the prospect for successful international cooperation in

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economic and even in political affairs would be accordingly impaired. The world trade charter would reverse this trend. It offers an alternative to economic conflict, the only alternative that is now before the nations of the world."

The idea of the International Trade Organization stems from the Atlantic Charter in which equal access to the trade and raw materials of the world was promised. Lend-lease agreements carried promises that discriminatory treatment would be eliminated and tariffs and trade barriers lowered. In February, 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations adopted a resolution providing for an International Conference on Trade and Employment. A Preparatory Committee was established which, in November, 1946, adopted the suggested American charter as the basis for its deliberations. This suggested charter is now the subject of public hearings in different sections of the United States. No nation is committed to its terms. Presumably, the Preparatory Committee at its meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, will complete the draft of the charter as well as handling the negotiations for tariff reductions initiated by the United States under the Trade Agreements Act. In the fall of 1947, the International Conference on Trade and Employment will be called to adopt the charter for a permanent I.T.O. Once ratified by 20 nations, this charter would come into force, "presumably by the summer of 1948."

"The establishment of the I.T.O.," the State Department asserts, "will mark the culmination of a program in which our government has been engaged for many years. It will carry out the promise of the Atlantic Charter, fulfill the commitment of Article VII of the lend-lease agreements, provide the support that is required for the successful operation of the Bretton Woods Bank and Fund, safeguard the concessions made in the negotiation of trade agreements, achieve the purposes sought through the extension of foreign loans, and preserve America's position of leadership in international economic life."

The major provisions of the charter, as now drafted, are stated below. The document is highly complex and contains in all some 89 articles, many of which are designed to adapt the new structure to the current pattern of trade arrangements.

PROVISIONS

(1) *Commercial Policy:* The I.T.O. commits itself to the widespread reduction or elimination of the many types of governmental barriers to international trade. It seeks to place such trade on a multilateral basis under the following principles: "Every country should treat the products of all others equally, giving none a preferred position, and so discriminating against none. Trade channels should be open to all countries, so that a buyer has a choice of several sellers, and a seller, access to several markets. Countries should not try to balance their trade in pairs, buying from a certain one only as much as can be sold to it. The currency used in

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doing business with any country should be exchangeable into the currency of another country without special risks or disadvantages to the holder."

Employing these principles, the I.T.O. would seek the reduction of export duties as well as import duties and would work to minimize the imposition of quotas, import licenses and other devices designed to restrict imports. Customs formalities would be minimized; differential internal taxation limited; freedom of transit permitted and anti-dumping procedures regulated. Trade terminology and techniques of computing tariffs are to be more standardized. A free flow of statistical information would be insured. Political trade boycotts by nations would be outlawed. Exchange controls are frowned upon. Export subsidies are, in general, banned. While recognition is given to unusual conditions which would necessitate the imposition of import quotas or other restrictions, regulations would surround such trade barriers.

The essence of the commercial policy of the I.T.O. is that of non-discrimination between nations. Procedures are established by which complaints of individuals or countries adversely affected by the trade practices of other nations, may ask for a review by the I.T.O. If a nation does not carry out its obligations and has no valid excuse, member countries may be authorized by the I.T.O. to withhold from the offender the tariff reductions negotiated among the other members.

(2) *Restrictive Business Practices:* The I.T.O. pledges itself to limit restrictive business practices in international commerce and to that end will establish a Business Practices Commission to take concerted action in this field. This body will deal with "agreements, combinations, arrangements or understandings in international trade among enterprises which seek to monopolize business benefits for the participants at the cost of consumers and potential competitors." Attempts to form cartels to lower output, increase selling prices and raise profit levels will come under scrutiny as will patent licensing agreements and the allocation of markets. The I.T.O. does not start on the assumption that all such international combines are restrictive. It seeks instead to provide for machinery for the handling of complaints. Member governments will be called upon to enact legislation to stop practices which are deemed to be internationally harmful. Investigations may be undertaken in order to develop international conventions which will encourage competition. Unfortunately, an obstinant country is left free to refuse to accept the recommendations of the I.T.O.

(3) *International Commodity Agreements:* The I.T.O. is authorized to develop inter-governmental agreements when burdensome surpluses exist in the markets for primary products. An effort is made to "cushion the world's economy against the dislocating effects of the surplus and, at the same time, . . . work toward elimination of the fundamental conditions that led to the trouble." A member country may ask for the appointment of a

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study group to explore an unfavorable commodity situation. If the situation warrants action, a commodity conference may be called, in which equal representation is accorded producing and consuming countries. In general, such commodity agreements will not apply to manufactured goods. Each case will be separately handled in the effort to eliminate the root causes of surpluses. This will frequently mean the elimination of high cost output or the expansion of consumption rather than the allocation of fixed production quotas, as in the pre-war days. Members of the I.T.O. guarantee that they will not participate in agreements "which regulate production, trade or prices unless they are operated under the Organization or under a multilateral convention including a majority of the nations affected."

(4) *Relations with Non-Members:* Members agree "not to secure for themselves preferred positions in the markets of non-members which would damage the interests of members."

(5) *Organization:* When adopted by the United Nations Conference on World Trade and Employment, the charter becomes effective upon ratification by 20 countries. A country may resign after three years upon giving six months' notice. The organization will be operated by a Conference, Executive Board, three Commissions (The commission on Industrial Policy, the Commodity Commission and the Business Practices Commission), and a secretariat headed by the Director-General. Each country will have a representative in the Conference who shall have one vote. Most decisions will be by majority vote.

OPPOSITION

A broad program of international trade reform such as is envisioned in the foregoing program is bound to bring dissent. It will be recalled that, as early as 1935, the Republican Party opposed the grant of authority to the President to negotiate 50 per cent reductions in existing tariffs. Protectionist sentiment has by no means disappeared. Business and agricultural interests likely to be adversely affected by tariff reductions are already beginning to stir uneasily as the time of trade negotiation approaches. Sentiment against the trade charter is also becoming increasingly articulate.

Representative Thomas A. Jenkins of Ohio has introduced a resolution which would postpone application of the Reciprocal Trade Act "until sufficient time has elapsed to permit a scientific study (by the United States Tariff Commission) of the necessity for further action under the reciprocal trade agreements policy." Senator Butler has asked for an amendment which would allow domestic companies to halt increasing importations of foreign goods if such shipments "render ineffective or seriously endanger the maintenance of such domestic production." The bill would consider the sale of the goods below the "domestic cost of production" as presumptive evidence that American companies are seriously endangered. This outcry against reciprocal trade has received support from such in-

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dustries as glassware, shoes, pottery, elastic webbing, lace, lead manganese, zinc and wool products.

Perhaps the most violent objection was voiced by Representative James E. Van Zandt of Pennsylvania. On February 26, he asserted that the new policy will mean "the wrecking of American industry" and "result in unemployment and financial chaos." "Goods manufactured in foreign countries at wages comparable to that paid to slave labor will glut our domestic markets and usher in an era of financial failure."

Representative Reed of New York turned the argument into an indictment of the State Department. "Can it be to the interest of the Republic," he inquired, "to entrust the future of hundreds of domestic industries, many of them founded in sweat and toil, to a handful of Communist-minded self-admitted internationalists? . . . Many of the 18 foreign nations at the proposed meeting in Geneva will represent ideologies in utter conflict with the philosophy of our Republic. . . . Gentlemen, I warn you . . . that the industries of this country are hanging by a thread and that thread is being frayed more and more as these trade agreements are forced upon us and upon other nations by a group which admittedly would sacrifice the sanctity of the American way of life for a mess of foreign-brewed pottage."

These violent attitudes are, fortunately, not shared by all Americans. Wilbert Ward, vice-president of the National City Bank, speaking for the United States Chamber of Commerce stated: "The Chamber regards the I.T.O. as a possible force for great good in world commerce. Its formation is a logical step in the development of a peaceful world." He, however, asked for more positive declarations on behalf of the maintenance of private initiative and enterprise in the redraft of the Charter. Winfield Riefler of the Twentieth Century Fund stated that "a magnificent job has been done in the charter, particularly in the field of commercial policy."

Speaking for consumers, Miss Caroline Ware of the National Association of Consumers expressed herself "in hearty accord with the purposes and principals of the proposed I.T.O." "The procedures appear in general to be sound and calculated to facilitate substantial steps toward these objectives."

Miss Ware asserted: "The consumer interest in international trade policy is clear. Broadly, it calls for such policies as will contribute to a growing national economy and make possible a steadily rising standard of living for the American people. Specifically, it calls (a) for a policy which will, as far as it is feasible, make available to the American consumer the products of the world; (b) for a policy which conserves our national resources and uses the productive capacity of the United States to secure from other parts of the world products which supplement our resources or permit us to husband them; and (c) for a policy which pays for imports by exports that use our productive resources most effectively.

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"The interest of American consumers is not in conflict with that of consumers in other countries. Rather an international trade policy which means higher living standards for the peoples of the world is sound policy for American consumers. . . . The interest of American consumers in international trade, moreover, is not in conflict with that of American producers in general. Producers as well as consumers stand to gain from expanded foreign trade based on widened markets for their products abroad among people who have products to offer in exchange.

"In the case of specific commodities, however, the interest of consumers may run counter to that of particular producers. The latter may seek to secure or retain a monopoly position, or to engage in restrictive practices to limit supply and enhance profits, or to dispose of merchandise whose quality is inferior or is concealed from the buyer."

The debate over future trade policy will doubtless increase in intensity as the months pass. Proponents of the Charter have gained considerable momentum. They have been favored by the bi-partisan support of the United Nations and its associated bodies and, perhaps more important, by the continuation of the high level of employment in the United States. This has blunted the arguments of economic groups which, under adverse conditions, would noisily demand trade restrictions.

The future is, nevertheless, clouded. President Truman, to forestall the storm, issued on February 25, 1947, an Executive Order which made mandatory the insertion of an "escape clause" in the reciprocal trade agreements. This clause would leave a country free to increase tariffs if serious injury were likely to result to domestic producers. This brought Mr. Truman applause by Senators Vandenburg and Millikan who had suggested such action. It decidedly weakens the whole program.

Moreover, the I.T.O., upon close scrutiny, is itself a defective instrument of international cooperation. It provides for most limited sanctions against international monopolies. It is filled with exceptions and with pious declarations of intentions. Moreover, it faces knotty problems of dealing with divergent types of economies — state operated, state controlled, cartelized, corporate and primitive individualistic systems. It is a start in the right direction. One can only hope that the United States as the initiator of the idea will not retreat from its international obligations and again lead the world into a period of economic warfare.

Be it ever so humble, there's no place like Texas. Nancy Huval, 13-year-old Texas girl wrote a letter to President Truman: "Please, sir, if Alaska must come into the Union, would you mind cutting it up into states? Texas just has to remain the largest state in the Union. I am sure my parents agree with me."

* * *

You may not like a beard at first, but it grows on you.

—Cactus Chronicle

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Collaborators win the peace

Failure in the Philippines

By Hernando J. Abaya

Special Correspondent, Manila *Evening News*

AS early as October, 1945, President Truman saw the threat of civil strife in the Philippines. This country which America had liberated was faced with two serious problems as a result of the war. One was economic and social—the agrarian unrest in Central Luzon where the peasant guerrilla army, the Hukbalahap,[1] remained in possession of their arms "threatening the stability of the Philippine government." The other was political—the issue of collaborationism. The two problems were complementary. The solution of one would mean the solution of the other.

President Truman knew where American responsibility lay, and he took steps to forestall the threat of a new conflict. He ordered the United States High Commissioner, Paul V. McNutt, to undertake a prompt investigation of the Huk problem and to recommend a solution, reminding the Commissioner that the peasant army had a "legitimate claim" to a "fair treatment" and should not be "dealt with ruthlessly." In another directive, the President told Attorney General Clark that "a number of persons who gave aid and comfort to the enemy are now holding important positions in the Commonwealth government" and instructed him to send experienced F.B.I. agents to the Philippines to discover the status of suspected persons and recommend action through the High Commissioner. The President stressed that it was "essential that this task be completed *before* the holding of the next Commonwealth elections."

The Truman directives merely implemented the Roosevelt policy to restore democratic processes in the Philippines as soon as possible, and to punish and try the collaborators. Washington's position was clear: the accomplishment of these two tasks of immediate importance was necessary to insure the healthy growth of an independent and democratic Philippines.

Both tasks devolved on the United States High Commissioner who was given special powers by the President to act as his personal representative in the Philippines. The return of Mr. McNutt in November, 1945, to a job which he formerly held gave promise of positive action, and the majority of the Filipino people, particularly the peasants, had high hopes that the pressing problems that confronted them would be solved with dispatch and to the satisfaction of everyone.

[1] A coined term in Tagalog meaning "People's Anti-Japanese Army." This guerrilla unit was the largest and most effective in Central Luzon during the Japanese occupation.

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Commissioner McNutt realized that the Filipino peasant, the *tao*, had been living in a semi-feudal economy, and he had repeatedly urged that this backward economy be "progressively eradicated." He did not find it necessary, however, to make an "on the spot" survey of the agrarian situation in Central Luzon. He depended on the usual statistics on tenancy and on whatever information was made available to his office by the United States Army and other federal agencies. Many well-meaning Filipinos felt that Commissioner McNutt treated the agrarian problem rather academically and that he did not show enough interest to take any remedial measures.

PAUL V. McNUTT

Two days after his arrival in Manila, Mr. McNutt met a delegation of leaders of peasant, labor and liberal organizations, who were eager to discuss with the High Commissioner the plight of the peasants and farm workers, particularly the Hukbalahap guerrillas. Mr. McNutt, however, was not ready to take up the agrarian problem, and he asked the group to submit a memorial on the peasants' proposals. This would be the basis for possible future discussions. The delegation thought that the Commissioner was giving them the brush-off because he did not recognize them as the spokesmen of the labor and peasant organizations in whose name they had called on him. They left with the feeling that Mr. McNutt was not the man to help the peasant cause. They accordingly did not attempt to see Mr. McNutt again nor did they submit any memorial as suggested by him. This was unfortunate. From the outset, a misunderstanding developed between the High Commissioner and the labor and peasant elements. This later led to open demands for the recall of Mr. McNutt as High Commissioner when he publicly sponsored the controversial Bell Act which the peasants and workers consider to be a sell-out to American retentionist groups.

The issue of collaborationism was handled in a like manner. In accordance with the Truman directive, Attorney General Clark sent a special investigator to Manila to study the question of collaborationism and to recommend the necessary measures. The investigator was convinced, after a three-month careful study, that the collaboration charges against Manuel Roxas and the other puppets were substantiated by facts, and he urged positive action by Washington to punish those who had signed the declaration of war against the United States, including Roxas. President Truman had previously stated that disloyalty to the Philippine Commonwealth was "equally disloyalty to the United States government." The report was submitted to the Attorney General through the High Commissioner. No action was taken on the report. Moreover, it has not been made public. Washington could have used this report as the basis for intervention in the presidential election in April last year, but it was unwilling to take positive action, and chose to remain "neutral" in a

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"domestic issue." In this way, Washington created the very condition for the return of Manuel Roxas and the collaborators to power, and, what is more tragic, for the outbreak of civil strife in the agrarian areas of Central Luzon.

It was America's responsibility to punish the collaborators of the Japanese and remove them from the political picture. President Roosevelt made that pledge repeatedly. And President Truman affirmed his support of a strong policy against these men who betrayed their people's trust. His directives, however, were never energetically followed, and have now been shelved and forgotten. With the grant of independence to the Philippines, collaborationism and the agrarian problem have become "domestic issues." America can now wash her hands and say it's up to the Filipino people to solve their own problems.

AMERICAN CONTROL

The situation, however, is not as simple as that. America has always controlled the Philippines economically, and under the Bell Act giving the Americans "equal rights" with Filipinos in the Philippines, that control is extended and strengthened. Moreover, America has a big peacetime army of 79,000 men in the Philippines, and plans to establish an undisclosed number (originally 78) of permanent air, navy and army bases throughout the country. In these circumstances, our independence becomes a dubious reality. What most Americans and Filipinos cannot see is the fact that the establishment of such bases and the presence of such a big foreign army in our country become an invitation to aggression in the event of another war. Whether America is attacked first, or whether she takes the initiative to forestall an enemy attack, the Philippines will be the first battleground, as America's westernmost frontier.

The question of domestic tranquility in the Philippines, therefore, is of primary importance to the United States. This means, in practical politics, the support of the present Roxas government, and the maintenance of an onerous social system based on the master-slave relationship of Spanish colonial days. Under the peculiar conditions of this feudal economy, the peasant is doomed to a life of poverty and toil in a land of potential plenty for all. Wealth is concentrated among five per cent of the population. The rich have dispossessed and exploited the poor to such an extent that in 1939 only 1.3 per cent of them owned the large farms of 50 or more acres. Before the war, the farm worker's average daily wage was a bare 22 cents.

During the occupation, it was these peasants and workers who bore the brunt of active resistance against the Japanese in Luzon Island. They fought without let-up for three years, and never compromised with the enemy, while the landlords accepted the Japanese rule and preached a "return to normalcy." The peasants rightly felt that they had helped win the war—thousands of them died in guerrilla fighting—and that they should reap not only abstract political rights but also the

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social and economic opportunities which democracy is supposed to give.

The election of Manuel Roxas in April, 1946, meant the victory of the landlords, who had given him and his party full support. In fact, the Roxas government is today run by a feudal aristocracy that has dominated Philippine political and social life for years. The Roxas cabinet is composed for the most part of representatives of the landlord class. After their victory at the polls, the landlords lost no time in demanding stern measures against the peasants, who had resisted the Japanese and had opposed them in the election. The peasants must learn again their proper place as peons. (Roxas himself is a landlord. He married into the wealthy de Leon family, the biggest landholders in Bulacan province.)

ROXAS GOVERNMENT

At first, Roxas tried to persuade the peasants to lay down their arms, which they had captured from the Japanese during the occupation, in exchange for promised agrarian reforms. The peasants, however, had no confidence in the government's word and refused to disarm unless the reforms were given first. The Roxas government adopted a new crop-sharing plan giving the tenants a greater share. This plan has not been put into effect because the Roxas government insists that the peasants lay down their arms first. The peasants, on the other hand, have taken an equally stubborn stand of reforms first before they surrender their arms. Since September 1, 1946, the Roxas government has carried on a punitive campaign to suppress the peasant movement. In late October, for instance, the Philippine Army and the Philippine military police fought two big battles against the armed peasants, one in Pampanga province involving an estimated 10,000 peasants, and the other in Nueva Ecija province in which 2,000 peasants took part.

Roxas himself has admitted that pressure from the land-lords had prompted him to adopt a mailed-fist policy against the peasants. Two weeks before the August 31, 1946, deadline set by Roxas for the surrender of unlicensed arms, he called to a conference in Malacanan Palace the adviser of the Hukbalahap peasant army, Vicente Lava, in an effort to convince him of the government's good intentions. "The government has the force necessary to wipe out the Huks," Roxas told Lava, but when the latter took the threat indifferently, Roxas remarked that he "had to act," because of the insistent demands from the landlords and his collaborationist backers. These elements placed Roxas in power, and they wanted no "bloodless peace" with the "lawless" peasants.

Despite the support from economic and political overlords, however, Roxas' position is unstable. His government is bankrupt, and he has to beg for financial aid from the United States government. War damage compensation has been authorized, but no payments have actually been made. Roxas is caught on the horns of a dilemma. The collaborationist vote was a strong factor in his election. His strongest backers and most of his friends are charged with collaboration and are

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indicted before the People's Court for treason. He wants to grant them general amnesty, but if he did this, he would jeopardize his chances of getting any loans from the United States. At the same time, he has to keep down the rising tide of nationalism against American exploitation that is developing in Manila and in the nearby provinces today. The Filipino people are becoming aware of the ulterior motives of American retentionist groups, which sponsored the Bell Act, to convert the Philippines into another Cuba, and they are demanding an accounting. They remember the many promises so freely given—of money for rehabilitation and relief for everyone, of compensation for war damage, of pensions to veterans, war widows and orphans, of retribution against the puppets, of rewards for service to country and flag. The promises have remained promises, while before their eyes the Filipino people see the foreigner extending his control over every business and economic activity, leaving them as mere "carriers of water and hewers of wood."

Roxas also finds his leadership threatened from an unexpected source. His former "chief," the puppet president, Jose Laurel, now out on bail on charges of treason, has come out in opposition to the Bell Act which Roxas has accepted. He is smartly cultivating the upsurge of nationalistic indignation over American control of Philippine economic life in a determined bid not only for his exoneration from the charges of treason before the people's tribunal, but for the presidency of the Philippine republic against Roxas in the next election in 1950. Laurel has put Roxas on the defensive because Laurel is right when he contends that while both he and Roxas collaborated with the Japanese, Roxas is not considered a traitor while he is accused as one. Roxas' henchmen have replied by accusing Laurel of "giving everything to the Japanese." Laurel, who has proved himself a smarter man than Roxas, has come back with the charge that the Roxas republic is "as much a puppet—or even worse" than his own Japanese-sponsored puppet republic.

The Philippine political situation will continue to puzzle the American people so long as the facts are kept from them. They will want to know why the men who collaborated with the Japanese, and who would have continued in office had Japan won, are again in power in the American-blessed Philippine republic. Collaborationists dominate the Roxas cabinet, the Supreme Court and the Philippine Congress. Seven of 11 cabinetmen, seven of 11 justices, 10 of 24 senators and a third of 98 representatives served in key posts in the puppet government. The Filipino people will also want to know why resistance fighters who refused to compromise with the enemy are today being hunted down by the collaborators as "enemies of the people." Landlords have offered a price of $2,500 for the capture, dead or alive, of Luis Taruc, 32-year-old commander of the Huk army. Taruc, along with six other peasant leaders, were legally elected to the House of Representatives by

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overwhelming majorities, but were unseated by the Roxas majority without proper hearing on the ground their election was due to "coercion." At the same time, one Roxas man elected from the same area was seated, while three Roxas men indicted for treason before the People's Court were sworn in.

The story goes back to a day in April, 1945, when five members of the quisling cabinet, seeking protection from the guerrillas, surrendered to the Americans near Baguio, the Philippines' summer capital. General MacArthur "liberated" one of the five, Manuel Roxas, while he "captured" the rest and detained them until V-J Day, when they were turned over to the Commonwealth government to face trial for treason. Had MacArthur followed the policy of his commander-in-chief, President Roosevelt, Roxas should have been "captured," too, instead of being "freed," and restored to his army rank as a one-star general. MacArthur was, at the time, not prepared to carry out the Roosevelt directive to remove the puppets from office because had those who collaborated been eliminated from "positions of economic and political influence," the power would have been given to the men of the resistance, the guerrillas and the radicals, including the Communists. And MacArthur could not conceive of the Philippines so led. He felt that it would be "safer" to return the collaborators to power.

The result is that today the Philippines are torn by a civil war which is only the beginning of an upheaval that may compel America to assume new responsibilities for her Filipino wards in order to safeguard her own stake in the East.

Advertising is the fine art of making you think you have longed for something all your life that you never heard of before.

—*Banking*

* * *

A visitor in the north woods asked an old-timer what kind of weather they were going to have the next day.

"Don't know," replied the man. "Used to be a man could always judge about the weather. Now the government has took over and you can't tell what the hell it will be."

—*Locomotive*

* * *

Seth and Hannah, two good Quakers, were "keeping company." Seth was impatient to know whether Hannah loved him or not, so one day he said to her: "Hannah, dost thou love me?"

Hannah replied: "Why, Seth, thee knows we are commanded to love one another."

"Yes, Hannah, I know, but dost thou feel what the world calls love?"

Hannah answered: "I hardly know what to tell thee, Seth. I have tried to bestow my love upon all, but I have sometimes thought that perhaps thou wast getting more than thy share."

—*Capper's Weekly*

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Congressional efficiency is doubtful

The Twilight of Congressional Government

By Julius Cohen

Professor of Law, The University of Nebraska

WITH legal innovations, as with new model cars, the attractiveness of the gadgets are prone to deflect attention from the basic problems of power and performance. At least so it would seem with two of the most widely heralded pieces of legislation in recent years—the new Administrative Procedure Act and Legislative Reorganization Act. Much has been said and written about the gadgetry of these legislative models, but few, indeed, have tinkered with the power mechanisms concealed beneath their hoods and examined their nature and structure.

At first blush, one gains the impression that these machines have been powered to give Congress unchallenged supremacy over the highways of government; and that the fast-moving "Executive"-type vehicle, now weighted down with heavy procedural luggage, would at last meet its master on the road. Were it possible to have "test runs" under all possible road conditions, there would be little need for speculation. But until the results are in, the problem is worthy of further examination.

For some time, Congressional leadership in government has been noticeably on the wane—not because of lack of constitutional power, but simply because the problems of government have been furnishing too much grist for the limited legislative mill. Just as the individual shopkeeper found it necessary to delegate authority and responsibility in order to enable him to ride the tide of business expansion, so Congress has found it necessary to delegate much of its authority in order that government may keep pace with the needs of a dynamic, industrial society. When compared with the handful of administrative agencies at the turn of the century, the number listed in the current issue of the United States Government Manual is quite impressive. It is the administrative agencies, not Congress, who meet the day to day requirements of fixing railroad rates and the number of competitors in the various fields of transportation, of regulating the issuance of securities, of fixing tariff schedules, of articulating unfair trade and labor practices, of creating pure food and drug standards, of determining who is eligible for pensions and security benefits.

THE NEW DESPOTISM

In England, Lord Hewart and his followers, sensing danger in the expansion of administrative power, touched off the charge of "The New Despotism"—a charge heard throughout the English-speaking world. Dean Pound, in the aca-

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demic arena, and leaders of the American Bar Association furnished much of the motive power for the attack upon the administrative process in this country. Dean Pound found ". . . . in the present century a rapid development of administrative bodies and agencies of every kind, a growing tendency to commit undifferentiated powers to them, a tendency on their part to exercise powers beyond what are assigned to the executive in our polity, and an increasing advocacy of administrative absolutism, not only by administrative officials, but by teachers and students of jurisprudence and politics."

The expansion of administrative authority built up corresponding pressures of resistance—some of which were released by launching ambitious investigations of the mysteries of the administrative process; some by introducing a flurry of legislative proposals to check what some were convinced was a "cancerous growth" upon democratic government. Out of these activities—fever-pitched for almost 10 years—finally emerged the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946. Heralded by its supporters as one of the most outstanding pieces of legislation in modern times, it purports to infuse "due process" into the procedure of administrative tribunals; and "to afford parties affected by administrative powers a means of knowing what their rights are and how they may be protected."

There can be no doubt of the desirability of providing necessary safeguards to insure fair play to those who must come in touch with the instrumentalities of government —and the administrative branch is certainly no exception. But when the purported "safeguards" turn out to be legislative "strait-jackets" foisted upon the administrative process, it is in order to ask whether the real purpose was not as much to correct as to cripple the arm of the executive. Dr. Frederick F. Blachly, one of the country's most distinguished authorities on the problems of government administration, recently had occasion to dub the Administrative Procedure Act as a legislative attempt at "Sabotage of the Administrative Process." An independent examination by even the most casual observer would reveal that the administrative arm of government was tied in knots and delivered over to the judiciary. Instead of cutting the procedural cloth to fit the many diverse characteristics and activities of the administrative agencies, Congress draped these bodies with ill-fitting procedural raiment, thus retarding and encumbering their work. And at the expense of administrative independence, Congress delegated to the trusted judiciary the job of keeping a constant vigil and check over the minutest of administrative activities.

But a Congress long smarting from a decline of prestige could be expected to feel that tethering would not be sufficient in itself to eclipse a powerful and aggressive opponent; and that it should at the same time keep its own body trim and virile, just in case the Executive breaks loose again.

CONGRESSIONAL WOES

The hearings of the LaFollette-Monroney Committee which ante-

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dated the passage of the Act reveal a Congress seriously concerned with its symptoms of ailing health and ready to follow any treatment (provided that it were not too drastic) which would restore its virility and lengthen the number of years of its active life. What seemed to be getting Congress down was the fact that it was unable to keep pace with the fast, energetic life of the Executive. As Senator Taylor put it in the hearings, "the President runs away with the show." It was the President to whom the country looked for leadership, not the Congress. It was the administrative agencies, and not Congress, who were making vital policy decisions in fields touching the most sensitive areas of economic activity. Congress lacked both the time and the technical skill to perform the job of both critic and overseer. Congress was too harrassed with "little" problems, with "running errands" for local constituents paralyzed at the thought of braving the bureaucratic jungle alone. Committee assignments were too numerous, correspondence was too mountainous. There was too little money available to permit the luxury of able executive assistants and a competent secretarial staff. The administrative agencies came equipped to "run rings" around Congressional interrogators. Congress had little time to study pending legislation, let alone to give statesmanlike attention to the staggering problems of national and international scope.

Many specialists were called in for consultation. The suggested remedies and panaceas ranged all the way from the public broadcasting of Congressional debates, to the "question period" on the English model and to the abolition of the bicameral system. The treatment that was finally prescribed was not a simple matter. It was eclectic in design—including the release of the painful pressures of private bills by the diversion of such time-consuming matters to other channels; the conservation of Congressional strength by the reduction of the number of committees and committee assignments; a closer scrutiny of the Executive budget and of the activities of the far-flung administrative agencies; and, last, but not least, retirement benefits and increased Congressional pay.

As far reaching and as salutary as these remedies may be, they are at best weak compromises of divergent prescriptions, and fall considerably short of what even the moderate legislative sponsors themselves had originally hoped for by way of Congressional reform. The organic limitations of the Congressional mechanism under the Constitution are such as to make its virility greatly dependent on the nature of the economic weather. Comes a spell of weather to which Congress is not organically suited, and the mentioned palliatives will be of little avail. Vibrant economic weather found during periods of "recovery" or post-war "booms" is greatly conducive to the dominance of Congressional government. Crisis weather, exemplified by periods of war, depression and serious social unrest is conducive to the dominance of Executive government. During these latter per-

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iods, the tethering of Executive action by such devices as the Administrative Procedure Act and the tuning up of Congressional machinery by such means as the Reorganization Act can at best prevent abuse of Executive power, but cannot capture the leadership of government.

LEADERSHIP

The "leadership" for which Congress has been clamoring has a peculiarly *negative* quality. It is leadership *against* the type of planning and controls which characterize the Jacksonian, the "Trust Busting," the "New Freedom" and the "New Deal" eras of American government. It is leadership *against* government intrusion in such fields as housing, health, employment, prices and profits. It is leadership *against* the executive, for the latter has, especially in more recent years, become the symbol of positive government.

This concept of *negative* government is congenital in our constitutional make-up. It springs primarily from the fear of dominant groups that "strong government" would tend to interfere with the basic institution of "property rights." And it was precisely this fear which prompted the sinking of the doctrine of separation of powers deep into our constitutional way of life. For the more power was diffused, the less chance there would be of "strong government." To Madison, the accumulation of powers in a single head was the very definition of tyranny. It meant interference with that delicately balanced equilibrium of supply and demand, of *laissez-faire* principles of economics, the following of which, as Adam Smith insisted, insured "The Wealth of Nations." Charles Beard, J. Allen Smith and others have clearly shown that the middle class property owners, for whom Madison was the spokesman, wanted protection against not only an ambitious executive, but also against the excesses of a propertyless mob which might conceivably gain control of the organs of legislation. "Separation of powers" was the tool adopted for the accomplishment of that end. By creating the legislative body as an *independent* arm of government, the "founding fathers" pitted Congress *against* the coordinate executive branch. To guard against legislative excesses, the judiciary—through the generalship of John Marshall—was brought into play. Witness the amount of social legislation voided by the Supreme Court in the early "due process" and "liberty of contract" cases.

At least a substantial part of the present drive to achieve Congressional "leadership" and curb executive power may, therefore, be explained in terms of an attack upon that type of government which has as its creed the doctrine of "interference" with the rights of "private property," i.e. positive government. In view of this, it is not at all surprising that it was ushered in with the same warm winds which thawed out the concepts given currency in the pre-crisis and post-crisis periods which the nation has already experienced—i.e. the balanced budget, private enterprise, individual initiative and the unshackling of government control.

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Another factor not to be overlooked in the present drive against executive government is the psychological overtone resulting from plucking on the strings of "separation of powers." This was shrewdly articulated by Harold J. Laski in the following observation on the American presidency: "To be something, Congress is forced to take a stand against the President; it cannot be anything if it merely follows his lead. And the weakness of the system is magnified by the fact that though it can seek its own elevation only by discrediting him, it cannot destroy him."

The concept of the negative state, rooted in the eighteenth century tradition of Locke and Montesquieu, served well the interests of the then dominant class of small property owners. It continues to be the rallying cry of the present-day leaders of a high tensioned industrial society, flushed with the success of wartime economic revival. But if the economic revival is short lived; if the enormous push given by the war is not sufficient for the national economic machine to run in high gear on its own energy—then reform and concessions become inescapable. Reform means the positive state; and the positive state means an increase in executive authority and—the twilight of Congressional government. For Congress is not organically geared for crisis leadership. It can criticize; it can investigate; it can air issues, and thereby keep the public informed. But it is too big, too diversified, too provincially minded, too incoherent for legislative planning on a scale commensurate with the problems created in the wake of crisis. To John Stuart Mill, even the Parliament of the nineteenth century England, which was a more tightly knit body than the American Congress, was ill fitted to the task of leadership in positive government.

The Executive, on the other hand, is geared for streamlined action. He is in a better position to view the scene through broader lenses, to gather around him a team of assistants responsible to a single head, to disregard local pressures and prejudices, to permit a focal point for public criticism, and to capture the imagination of an anxious people. In the words of Woodrow Wilson, "The Constitution bids him (the President) speak, and times of stress must more and more thrust upon him the attitude of originator of policies."

During such times, there is, of course, an ever present temptation to deal lightly with democratic processes in the interest of "getting things done." Although Congress will not be geared for leadership, it can and should take on the vital role of protecting these processes from abuse and destruction. It can and should become an effective instrument of criticism, and an important conduit through which public needs and feelings may be channeled. And though it does not seem possible under our constitutional system to devise effective machinery for guaranteeing congressional leadership and for eclipsing executive government during all periods of the nation's life, it is still possible, to streamline the Congress for the difficult twilight period ahead.

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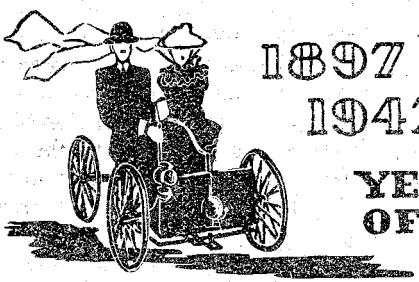

1897 ~ 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

What were they saying about the income tax, American education, the presidential term and Congress, back in 1897?

"The Income Tax. This tax had never before been approved in a Democratic platform and had never been tolerated by the country, except as a temporary expedient in time of war. Yet this platform proposed to fasten it upon the nation in a time of profound peace as a part of its permanent fiscal policy. It is an unjust, inquisitorial, and sectional tax. It is a tax upon thrift, industry, and brains, and yet upon wealth *per se.*"

> *Complaints to the effect that the results in written language are highly unsatisfactory are commonly heard from individuals in all walks of life, and particularly from instructors in high schools and universities. As the unsatisfactory results are usually attributed to insufficient attention to the subject in the elementery school, the demand is made that still more time be devoted to English. But if the circumstances should be such that it is impossible to lead the average child beyond a certain point, however great the pressure may be, then of course the time expended in endeavoring to do so is wasted.*

"If the Presidential term were lengthened to six years, we might fairly anticipate at least four years of continuous exemption from political strife. . . . Extension of the . . . term should, by all means, be accompanied by a provision rendering the President ineligible for re-election to an immediately succeeding term. This would manifestly be an important step toward the mitigation of one of our most serious political evils."

"Congress has quite outgrown the limit placed upon it by the Constitution, and imperatively needs relief from the congested condition in which it exists. It is a notorious fact that the pressure of business has become so serious as almost to prevent the consideration of private bills; and monstrous wrong is constantly suffered by many persons having just claims for relief."

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Pressure Groups in Action:

III—The National Education Association

By Nancy Mayo Waterman

THE American child today is faced with an incredibly complex world to which he must adjust in the relatively short span of 21 years. Not only must he learn to speak, read, write and learn a craft, but he is faced with problems of serious importance, whose solution, he may, at 21, be expected to take an active part in solving.

Even with the best teachers in the world, long hours of study, enlightened character guidance and superior teaching aids, the 24,000,000 school-age children of America may find present-day problems insuperable. As race dissension, class struggle, financial chaos, religious intolerance and international conflicts vie for the front page of the daily newspaper, the American citizen is forced to apply an increasing amount of knowledge to the task of piecing together and making coherent the picture of world day-to-day news, and year-to-year trends.

How were we, as a nation dependent on the knowledge of the people as a whole, prepared for the atomic era? How are we preparing the children of America for the problems of 1950, 1960 and 1970? When we consider the farcical character of a democracy without adequately educated voters, the problem becomes doubly important.

In 1940 there were 131,669,275 people in America.

Of that number 3,000,000 adults had never attended any kind of school.

The census showed that the average 20-year-old citizen had attended school only nine years.

During the years from 1920 to 1930 there were nearly three times as many voting citizens who had not finished the sixth grade as the pluralities of the winning presidential candidates during those years.

In New York State, Jonathan Davids was going to a school which expended $6000 a year on his classroom.

In Mississippi, Jerry Robinson was attending a one-room shack which boasted a budget of $100 per classroom unit.

In Salt Lake City, a teacher with 16 years of experience was receiving $2724 annually. The dog catcher was starting at $10,000.

In the poorest schools, a salary of $30 a month for six months might be paid the over-worked teacher. There were no repairs made. The teacher and children were forced to do the janitorial work. There were no instructional supplies. All the children were crowded into one room.

And the state of affairs is worse

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today. The number of available teachers is steadily decreasing. Three hundred and fifty thousand teachers have left the profession since 1939. There are 60,000 unfilled positions. One hundred and nine thousand were teaching on sub-standard emergency certificates last year. This year 125,000 teachers are teaching on such a basis.

Where do these facts come from, you ask? What's being done about rectifying the situation?

The above statistics may be found in any one of a number of research bulletins and descriptive publications put out in recent years by the National Education Association of the United States. They have been carefully compiled and checked and they give a truthful picture of the American educational system as it is today.

THE N.E.A.

The N.E.A. is one of a number of organizations dedicated to the task of equalizing the benefits of education in this country, of increasing the prestige of the teaching profession, and bettering the living and teaching conditions of teachers.

Since its inception in 1870, when the National Teachers Association (1857), the American Normal School Association (1858) and the National Association of School Superintendents (1865) fused to make the National Education Association, the N.E.A. has been guided by men zealously devoted to setting up an adequate public school system. Dorothy Canfield Fisher has written of her father who worked without pay, far into the nights, after full days of teaching at the University of Kansas, so that the program of the Association might prosper.

The infant organization's statement of purpose was: *To elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching, and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States.*

School teachers, both male and female (the females were described as "Lady Pilgrims"), school superintendents, principals and college professors, in fact anyone associated with education, were allowed to become members.

On June 30, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the bill of incorporation of the "National Education Association of the United States." Soon afterward, by 1910, the leadership of the organization passed from the hands of the college and university presidents, state and city superintendents, and well-known educators into the hands of the members of the association, the majority of whom were classroom teachers. In that year, the report of the nominating committee was rejected, and Ella Flagg Young, capable superintendent of schools in Chicago, was nominated and elected from the floor.

In the years that followed a change became noticeable in the interests of the Association. At conventions, where once the most practical of schoolmen had suffered flights of oratory, there were discussions on practical improvement in teaching and the economic status of the teacher.

Today, almost 80 years after the founding of the Association, there

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are 340,973 members, and, through affiliated state and local associations, the N.E.A. influences the thinking and actions of 750,000 of the 882,980 teachers in America.

The Representative Assembly meeting in Pittsburgh in 1944 increased membership dues from $2 to $3. The Assembly was composed of 969 classroom teachers, 225 superintendents, 263 principals, and 194 representing such groups as college presidents, librarians, deans and secretaries of state associations.

The Association has grown in influence and in financial strength to merit serious study as a pressure group.

ORGANIZATION

In a keynote address given before the Representative Assembly of the N.E.A. at Indianapolis June 27, 1943, Executive Secretary Willard E. Givens stated:

> There is a movement among gainfully employed persons in all occupations and professions to form strong, nationwide organizations. Through large memberships, high dues, and often with the support of government, some of these groups exert great influence. . . . Surely one million teachers unified and aggressive can stand on their own feet and fight their own battles. . . . If we really believe in educational opportunities for all children . . . why do we not develop the professional unity and power through which these benefits can be obtained?

In a letter to the magazine *School and Society*, September 4, 1943, Frank E. Spaulding, Professor Emeritus of Education at Yale, took exception to this address:

> I take emphatic issue with the "keynote" demand . . . that the N.E.A. prepare to enter powerfully and aggressively into competition with organized groups in other fields. The chief immediate objective proposed for such aggressive and competitive action is the passage of legislation providing Federal financial support for education. . . . It is a procedure of force, not of education; the force to be exerted by "one million teachers unified and aggressive," competing with other pressure groups, and adopting their tactics. . . .

The viewpoint of Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary of the American Federation of Teachers (an organization 30 years old, claiming a membership of 35,000), is in direct contrast with that of Mr. Spaulding. Mr. Kuenzli writes in the February, 1947, issue of *The American Federationist:*

> For many years the N.E.A. and its affiliates declared that it was "unprofessional" for teachers to demand higher salaries and that the teachers would receive adequate pay if they would just do a good job of teaching. The N.E.A. philosophy set forth professionalism as teaching for the love of the work and a spirit of missionary devotion on the part of teachers. . . . These namby-pamby attitudes on the part of the independent associations have resulted not only in such low professional standards that teachers are flocking from the profession but also in grossly inadequate educational facilities for the children in the schools.

What exactly have been the goals of the Association? What are its attitudes on strikes by teachers, on

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organized teacher unions? What have been its achievements since 1870? Is it a constructive force which will aid America in overcoming the educational crisis, or have its "namby-pamby" attitudes in truth had a disintegrating influence on the teaching profession.

GOALS

Since the very beginning, the N.E.A. has indeed shown missionary fervor in the betterment and expansion of public school education. Association conventions had in large part supported the idea that the state has a legal right to use public funds for secondary schools prior to the passage of the Kalamazoo decision in 1872. In 1892 the Board of Directors appropriated $2500 for the use of the Committee of Ten, headed by Nicholas Murray Butler, which proceeded to bring order out of a then existing secondary school chaos by standardizing the commencement of a subject, the length of its study, the selection of topics to be covered, methods of approach and general preparation for both college preparatory and other pupils.

When the National Council of the N.E.A. met in 1894, Professor B. A. Hinsdale of the University of Michigan challenged the then-prevalent *dogma of formal discipline* which maintained that the training of the mental faculties was true education and that the materials of instruction were a matter of indifference. Professor Hinsdale contended that no one study, such as Latin, could develop the whole mind and that "balance of development which we should call a liberal education can be gained only through a measurably expanded curriculum."

In the nineties, the Association helped diffuse the Herbartian principles of correlation as applied to teaching in elementary schools. The school system was indebted to the Herbartians for new concepts in the teaching of history and literature in the elementary schools; an emphasis on the moral aim in instruction; a new educational philosophy and a better organization of the technique of teaching in the classroom.

The N.E.A. was among the first educational groups to advocate the teaching of vocational courses which would help the student who was not planning to go on to further study.

It has advocated in turn physical culture, history, music and manual education.

In 1870, when the N.E.A. was created, the average annual salary of teachers was $189 a year. In 1917, after much effort and the publication of thousands of pages of emergency statistics by the Association, the median had risen to $600. With the general increase in salaries, teachers salaries doubled by 1923. In 1940-41 the average was $1470; in 1946, $2000, a small increase considering the fact that the cost of living rose, at a conservative estimate, 21 per cent in the same period. The Association is now working toward a minimum starting wage of $2400 a year for the adequately prepared teacher. It visualizes salaries up to $5000 for the experienced instructor.

Today the N.E.A. is continuing as a forerunner of educational change. Among its Victory Pro-

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gram Goals adopted by the Representative Assembly on July 5, 1946, are:

A professionally prepared and competent teacher in every classroom.

A professionally prepared and competent administrator at the head of each school system.

Retirement income for old age and disability.

Informed lay support of public education at local, state and national levels.

Adequate educational opportunity for every child irrespective of race, creed, color or residence.

The equalization and expansion of educational opportunity including needed state and national financing.

An effective United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

In working toward the achievement of these goals, the N.E.A. has become the greatest publisher in the world in the field of professional organization. In 1943-44, it turned out 215 million pages; in 1944-45, 376 million. It puts out a monthly *Journal* which exhorts its teacher readers to courage and faith in the future of their profession. A *Leader's Letter* is sent to 16,000 educational leaders throughout the nation. Other publications, all intended to make the public conscious of the work of the Association, the crisis at hand, and the need for federal aid, tenure laws, retirement plans and adequate salaries are: *The Public and Education,* a weekly newsletter sent to influential laymen and institutions; *Personal Growth Leaflets,* abbreviated accounts of N.E.A. history, noted educators' lives, federal legislation; and the N.E.A. *Handbook* containing vital statistics on the status of public school education.

Through circulars; through conferences by the score with agricultural, labor, industrial, business, women's, veteran's, church and service groups; through radio, press and screen, the Association is waging an impressive war against ignorance, and in behalf of the teaching profession.

It has maintained from the beginning that the teacher should shun union organization and refrain from breaking his contract by striking. It maintains that teachers will make the most progress toward their objectives through professional organizations and professional methods. However, it does not condone the intimidation of teachers who are striking, nor their punishment. Recently, the N.E.A. Ethics Committee warned that although striking was still disapproved of, "immediate consideration must be given to upward salary adjustments in countless communities in order to avert a wholesale withdrawal of trained teachers from the profession."

The main legislative interest of the organization at present is the possible passage of a bill which will authorize permanent federal aid to the states without federal control of education in those areas. The first bill of this nature was introduced in 1937 and known as the Harrison-Fletcher-Black bill. Successively, in 1938, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1946 and finally in 1947 as S.472 (introduced by Senators Taft, Thomas, Ellender, Hill, Smith, Cooper, Chavez and Tobey on January 31,

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1947) permanent federal aid bills have been projected. Thus far, none has been passed due, in part, to the pressure of emergency legislation. The N.E.A. has hopes that once labor legislation has been attended to in the present session of Congress, S.472 will finally have a chance at passage in the House and Senate.

Though 59 other bills directly affecting education were introduced in Congress during January, 1947, the Association is putting all its strength behind S.472 which: (1) absolutely prohibits federal control of education; (2) authorizes federal funds in direct proportion to need and effort and in indirect proportion to the financial ability of the states to support their schools; (3) establishes a minimum educational opportunity through public elementary and secondary schools; (4) protects the educational welfare of all racial minority groups, and (5) limits the use of federal funds to such schools as the states feel are eligible for state support.

The Washington lobby of the Association, known as the Division of Legislative and Federal Relations (created in 1943 by the N.E.A. Executive Committee at the Indianapolis meeting), actively supports such education measures as are favored by the Association and reports from week to week, in the *Legislative News Flash*, the current position of education legislation and the attitudes of committee members and Congressmen in general toward the bills. The five members of the Division have registered as lobbyists under the Regulation of Lobbying Act which was passed by the Seventy-ninth Congress.

The N.E.A. is indeed bending its every effort toward increasing the living wage of the teacher and the educational opportunities of the American child. Its missionary fervor is still apparent; it still advocates the devotion to duty and the love of teaching derided by Mr. Kuenzli of the American Teachers Federation. But it is now spending $100,000 a year in a militant research effort to enlighten the American people on the educational home-front crisis. It has strived to educate the people to become its ally in the war against ignorance rather than risk resentment through force. For many years the teacher members were willing to bear the brunt of poor wages, poor teaching conditions and the threat of possible dismissal without reason by "uppity" schoolboards through a feeling of loyalty to their profession and because they were inspired by a genuine love of their work. They have realized that this very attitude lost them the respect of a nation which, unfortunately, has learned to judge the excellence of a service by the fee required to pay for it.

The N.E.A. is facing squarely the loss in professional prestige which is turning new recruits from the schools and discouraging experienced personnel. It knows that America can afford to pay for the finest educational system in the world. It is determined to make this nation realize the need for such a system.

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Senator Morse of Oregon on amending the Wagner Act

Labor Legislation – Not a Panacea

"JUST how to strike the balance between too little government control and too much government control in the complex field of labor relations presents a real test of the legislator's statesmanship." In these words Senator Morse of Oregon sums up the crucial problem of labor legislation facing the Congress today. Beginning the debate on further labor restriction, Mr. Morse points up the fact that "the American people expect entirely too much of labor legislation as a panacea for industrial ills." In his able discussion, the Senator points out some of the pitfalls of the proposed Senate Bill 360 (authored by Senator Ball). He offers valuable statistics proving that jurisdictional disputes and arguments over the closed shop, important as they may be, account for only a very small percentage of current strikes. His criticisms of "omnibus legislation" apply to all fields of law-making as well as the specific field of labor legislation.

In spite of the tremendous difficulty of framing labor laws ("The weaknesses of human nature cannot be corrected by legislation"), Senator Morse believes that some legislation is essential. "If we are to make our American system work we must remember that it will not and cannot work independent of reasonable governmental regulations and controls over all groups within the system." In the last analysis, American labor is a pressure group, and, like all pressure groups, labor's privileges can be maintained only within the framework of a free American society. As Mr. Morse points out, "We must balance the interests of all groups in our economy or we cannot have long-time prosperity for any group." Although he recognizes that congressmen, too, are swayed by various pressures, the Senator from Oregon sees as the legislator's duty guarding the "balance" among all conflicting groups. This he believes Congress can do by compromise — "the very essence of the legislative process."

Because Senator Morse points up the essential difficulties of labor legislation, because he outlines the basic problems faced by labor clearly, sympathetically and with a sound statistical background, because he does not lose sight of the problems of management or the consumer, we are reprinting the following excerpts from his remarks in the Senate of March 10, 1947.[1]

[1] Congressional Record, Vol. 93, No. 45, March 10, 1947.

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MR. MORSE HAS THE FLOOR

Mr. Morse. Mr. President, I desire to discuss at some length today some of my views and proposals on labor legislation. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has just completed several weeks of public hearings on the multitude of suggestions and recommendations which witnesses and Members of the Congress have offered as legislative remedies for some of the Nation's labor ills. These have been excellent hearings which I have attended as faithfully as my other Senate duties have permitted.

As I have listened to the witnesses appearing before our committee, I have at the same time been working on a series of proposals for amendments to the Wagner Act. I would be less than honest if I did not say that the many conflicting points of view which have been presented at the hearings; the myriad of legal technicalities that must be considered in drafting legislation if the legislation is to meet the tests of our constitutional system; the implications and economic effects of labor legislation in such a complex field of human relations as labor relations; all have made the task I have undertaken a very difficult one.

I have waited to introduce my amendments until now primarily for two reasons. First, I simply have not been able to complete the work until now because the views and arguments which have been presented at the hearings have compelled me time and time again to study some new angle of the problem as raised by the hearings, and frequently to discard previously held views.

Second, I thought it highly desirable to take advantage of the hearings themselves as an aid to drafting the legislation and then make available to the committee for its most important work in executive session my proposed legislative recommendations.

In offering certain specific amendments to the Wagner Act today, I wish to make very clear that they are not final with me. My mind is completely open regarding them, and I shall consider changes in them as we debate them in committee and here on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. Smith. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Ives in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. Morse. I yield.

Mr. Smith. In view of the statement the Senator from Oregon has just made, I ask him whether he feels that the right approach to labor legislation should be an amendment of the Wagner Act or by both such amendment and additional labor legislation?

Mr. Morse. I think we must have legislation over and above amendments to the Wagner Act.

Mr. Smith. Does the Senator think that primarily we should amend the Wagner Act itself?

Mr. Morse. The contribution I am trying to make is by way of amendments to the Wagner Act, and then I shall be very happy to cooperate with the Senator from New Jersey and other Senators to perfect additional legislation going over and above amendments to the Wagner Act.

Mr. Smith. I thank the Senator.

Mr. Morse. Mr. President, just how to strike the balance between too little Government control and too much Government control in this complex field of labor relations pre-

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sents a real test of the legislators' statesmanship. I wish I could say that I know for a certainty just exactly how far the Government should go by way of legislation in these matters, but the fact is I am not at all sure about it. I suspect that most of those who are speaking with such finality on the subject are no nearer to a sound answer to the problem than are those of us who frankly say we do not know for a certainty what should be done.

However, the fact that we recognize the limitations of the legislative approach to the solution of our labor-employer problems is no justification for our taking the position that we should not at least try to draft some legislation that will be helpful in meeting the public demand for greater stability in employer-labor relations. Hence, as a matter of principle, I shall not oppose fairly worded legislation which seeks to protect the rights of the individual worker to the type of protection which would flow from guaranteeing to him certain democratic procedures in the conducting of union affairs.

There are those in my State who seem to think that I should offer a catch-all omnibus labor bill designed to cover all possible legislative approaches to labor problems under one bill. I am very much opposed to that approach to passing legislation, not only in the field of labor relations but in most legislative fields dealing with human relations and economic problems.

Rather, I think the best approach to such problems is to handle each labor issue in a separate bill or at least include in one bill only those issues which can be separated from the rest of the bill and voted upon as separate and individual sections of the bill. Thus in the proposals I make this afternoon, insofar as amending the National Labor Relations Act is concerned, it would be possible for us to consider them together or consider each one separately.

First, I would mention the one of legislative strategy. An omnibus bill, as a matter of legislative form, is not the best type of law to be on the statute books, because our law reports are full of decisions in which the courts have thrown out all or part of such bills because of inconsistencies, ambiguities, and irreconcilabilities within them.

Furthermore, I do not like the omnibus labor bill approach because from the standpoint of legislative strategy in passing legislation, the task is made more difficult because such bills tend to rally the opponents of each section of the bill into a combination of effective opposition against the entire bill. Too frequently an omnibus bill puts a legislator in a position in which he has to decide whether he will vote against the entire bill, because of his disapproval of certain parts of it, or vote against his own convictions as to the objectionable parts in order to pass some legislation on the general subject covered by the bill.

Hence I think it is much easier to work out conscionable legislative compromises in support of bills that are much more limited in scope than omnibus bills.

I speak of conscionable compromises because I think we should try to make clear to the American people that the very essence of the legislative process is compromise and our task is to work out the fairest and most reasonable compromises we can in this field of labor legislation, so long as they do not do irreparable injury to the basic rights of labor and industry. I think it is much easier to do that when we try to

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handle only a limited segment of labor problems in an individual bill rather than try to cover the whole alphabet of labor issues from A to Izzard in one bill.

In addition, it should be said that as a general practice the omnibus type of bill usually goes much further than is necessary to accomplish the objectives which need to be accomplished. I think that is due to a basic drafting problem which is inherent in constructing an omnibus bill. When one tries to cover in a single bill a great many issues with varying degrees of relationships to each other, it becomes necessary to use language so broad in scope in many places in the bill, so as to include within it, as we say, everything but the kitchen sink. Thus the result is that when one gets through he usually finds that the bill, particularly if it is a labor bill, has so restricted freedom of action that the proposed law becomes an enforcement impossibility.

We in Congress have been criticized frequently because we have not pulled some legislative rabbit out of a hat and thereby, with a stroke of the magician's wand, given our people at least an imaginative relief or illusory remedy on the stage of labor relations. It has been my policy to work conscientiously with those of my Senate associates who recognize that the important job is not to perform a legislative magician's act that will fool the people into believing that the country's labor ills can be solved by legislation, but rather that our job is to produce such changes in our procedural machinery for settling labor disputes as will make successful and effective the operation of the voluntary principles of free collective bargaining within the framework of such reasonable controls by law as are necessary to protect the legal and property rights of the parties to a given dispute as well as the public.

VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

A Federal as well as State conciliation, mediation, and arbitration service, operating through a board which offers its services on a purely voluntary basis, is in keeping with my very deep conviction that the only long-time hope for peaceful settlement of labor disputes is through the voluntary action of the parties to those disputes.

We cannot ignore the fact that the use of economic action in some of our great major industries in this country over the period of our history has been necessary to educate the American people to an understanding of the intolerable conditions that some of our fellow citizens have had to endure in these industries.

I wonder where the mine workers of America, or even our railroad workers, would be today from the standpoint of their standard of living if they had not had the right to strike. On this point it should be mentioned that of course the public itself is not a very good employer when its economic toes are stepped on.

Mr. Smith. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. Morse. I yield.

Mr. Smith. Does the Senator have in mind the possibility of extending that part of the Smith-Connally Act which provides for the Government's taking over in those cases and possibly handling them along the line of a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States?

Mr. Morse. I will say to the Senator from New Jersey that I do not have in mind extending any part of

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the Smith-Connally Act, because I think it should die.

Mr. Smith. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. Morse. I think it should have been repealed long before this; indeed, I think it never should have been passed because, in my opinion, it has not been very helpful in producing labor harmony. But to answer the Senator's question directly, I believe we will have to give consideration to new legislation which embodies the principle of the right of the Government to step in in the so-called national paralysis cases and exercise governmental control of the industries involved for the benefit, let me say, of neither party, whether labor or industry, so far as the financial rewards are concerned, until such time as the parties sit down and work out between themselves a free collective-bargaining contract.

Mr. Smith. Mr. President, I am glad to hear the Senator from Oregon make that statement because my own thinking has been running along the same general line. I remind the Senator that at the hearing last Saturday, when Mr. LaGuardia, who was one of the authors of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, was present, he took exactly the same position, namely, that there might arise a crisis in which the Government would have to intervene, and in which even the injunctive process might have to be used, despite the fact that the use of that process is prohibited by the act of which he was a co-sponsor—the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Mr. Morse. Let me say, however, that as legislators we need to be careful that we do not go along with those who advocate legislation which would put the Government in the business of union busting. We must not support legislation, for example, which would make it profitable for either labor or industry to have the Government take over the railroads or the coal fields or public utilities as the result of a failure on the part of the parties to participate in good-faith collective bargaining. I think the Government should intervene in such cases only to the extent of protecting the public interest in an endeavor to do whatever it can by the use of governmental powers to provide the public with the minimum services necessary to alleviate their suffering until a settlement of the case can be reached—preferably by negotiations between the parties themselves.

It seems to me that the facts and circumstances of such cases are always going to vary to such a great degree that it is practically impossible to devise any piece of legislation that can be automatically applied to such cases. What I think we should try to work out is legislation which seeks to define the powers of Government in such cases, and thereby make perfectly clear to the parties, both labor and industry, that it is not the intention of the Government to stand idly by, impotent to act because of the failure of Congress to confer the power to do whatever the Government finds necessary to be done, under such circumstances, in order to protect the public interest. One of the sad commentaries about such major disputes as those involved in railroads, coal, and public utilities is that the parties themselves and everyone else in the country affected by such disputes know very well at the start of the stoppage that eventually the dispute will be settled on some reasonable terms—usually on terms closely approximating some of the sensible suggestions for settlement made at the very time the stoppage occurred. In fact, in most instances the stoppage itself has very

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ittle effect upon determining the erms of settlement. That is why in ny opinion it is so important that we provide the parties to such disputes with whatever procedural machinery will be helpful to them in settling their disputes on a voluntary basis of free collective bargaining. mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, making clear to them that in the last analysis if they attempt to throw the country into an economic tailspin, the people, through their Government, will step in and will exercise the rights of the public which are superior to the selfish interests of the disputants.

I believe that in the executive sessions of our committee we are going to be able to reach some conscionable compromises on this type of legislation which will not go too far, but which at the same time will meet the demand of the public for greater Government participation in the settlement of such disputes.

However, one of the points I desire to stress today in this speech is that the American people are expecting entirely too much of labor legislation as a panacea for industrial ills. I am afraid that too many in the Republican Party, both in and out of Congress, have misled themselves into thinking that a maximum of industrial freedom in this country can be attained by putting American labor into a legislative strait-jacket. They have not stopped, I fear, to study the history of either the American labor movement or of the experiences which have resulted in the passage from time to time of restrictive, punitive labor legislation in some of our States.

Legislation of a punitive, restrictive, prohibitive type in the field of labor relations has invariably met with great resistance.

We should remember that good faith cannot be legislated. A desire on the part of employers and labor to deal fairly with each other cannot be legislated. A conviction that our system of private enterprise is dependent upon a high standard of living and a high purchasing power for all groups in America, including labor, cannot be legislated. In other words, we should remember that the weaknesses of human nature cannot be corrected by legislation. However, we can and should set up by legislation the minimum standards and controls necessary to protect the commonly accepted rights of individuals and groups from being exploited and transgressed either by industry or by labor or by anyone else.

When we come to vote upon and pass labor legislation in this session of Congress, I hope we shall not forget that legislation in the social and economic fields should be tested by the question: Is enforcement of this law feasible? It is bad legislative policy and it is not in the interest of government by law to pass legislation which is going to be so opposed by such a large number of people that its enforcement becomes next to impossible.

What I am trying to point out is that in a democratic society we cannot afford to place upon the administration of justice a greater strain than it can well bear. We do not strengthen government by law by passing legislation which is certain to break down in its enforceability.

As I listened to the witnesses testifying at our hearings on labor legislation during the past few weeks, I felt that many of them were making the mistake of thinking that a plausible paper plan for the handling of labor problems is synonymous with a workable plan. So many of them seemed to miss the vital difference between static theory and dynamic

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practice. They overlooked the human equation which is the most vital ingredient in the kettle of fish in which we now find ourselves, insofar as the labor crisis is concerned. Men just do not act the way they would have them act under their nicely drawn paper plans for settling labor controversies.

When we start tinkering legislatively with the livelihood of millions of our fellow-Americans we should know from experience that in organizational unity there is economic strength. We should not be so naive as to think that the passage of restrictive labor legislation which weakens both the unity and economic strength of organized labor is going to result in their sending us flowers of appreciation.

LABOR OBJECTIVES

I think this is as good a place as any to direct attention to the main objective of the free labor movement as we have it in America. I appreciate the fact that it has many objectives, and now I am speaking of the objectives of a free labor movement as contrasted with the personal power objectives of some of the labor leaders in the country. However, in fairness to labor leaders it should be said that by and large the labor leaders of the country, big and small, are motivated primarily by the desire to improve the economic lot of the producers of the wealth which flows from the operation of American industry under our system of private property economy.

Their endeavors in that respect spring from the economic essence of the labor movement, and that is to secure for the workers a greater share of the wealth produced by their labors. I am not at all frightened by that objective. I recognize it as essential to preserving our capitalistic economy. I want to see that economy preserved, because, as I have said before, I think political democracy cannot be separated from economic democracy. By economic democracy I mean our American system of a private property economy which is the very heart of our competitive capitalistic system.

Here again we must look at the alternatives. What other type of economy could we have? Move away from a private property capitalistic economy and you move in the direction of a totalitarian economy. Call it what you will—national socialism, fascism, communism—they are one and the same thing insofar as their effects upon the rights, liberties, freedoms and dignities of the individual are concerned. In practice they spell out statism. They can survive only on the basis of an economy regimented, directed, and absolutely controlled by the state. They are synonymous with economic dictatorship. Neither American labor nor American employers should forget that their rights as individuals disappear under any system of totalitarianism.

It is a mistake for people to brand as socialistic the objective of organized labor to secure for itself a more equitable share of the product of its labor. In fact, I think that if progress toward that objective will only keep pace with increased production of national wealth we shall have a complete rebuttal answer to those agitators and leftists who in some small cells of American labor are trying to convince workers that our capitalistic system denies them their economic rights.

I submit that the major objective of the American labor movement has served over our history as a great stabilizer of our capitalistic system. As our workers have joined themselves together in effective labor-

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union organizations for the advancement of their economic welfare they have succeeded over the years in raising the level of real wages to a point far above that of any other workers in the world.

PURCHASING POWER

Our system of competitive enterprise can sustain itself only on the purchasing power of the consumers of the country. Lower that purchasing power and the charts and graphs of our economic statisticians begin to show immediately serious distortions in the movement of economic goods through the channels of trade. Paradoxical as it may seem the fact is that our profit system depends upon distributing profits into the pockets of the consumers of America. This includes for the most part the workers, the farmers, and the millions of people who make up our so-called white collar class. The base of that distribution of profits must be a wide one because upon the purchasing power of the American consumer depends the expansion and ever greater productivity of our private-enterprise system. Profits cannot be made out of a contracting and declining production. It is increased production and expansion through new industry which develops the economic power of our system and makes possible a higher purchasing power through a greater distribution of profits among our consumers.

However, labor has some grave responsibilities and obligations in connection with the operation of our capitalistic system. It has no more right to seek to profiteer at the expense of a stable economy than have the employers and the industrialists. Labor can destroy its own house if it listens to those radicals in its midst who would misrepresent the extent

Chilcote in the *Chicago Sun*

"WHAT'S COOKING"

of profits being made by industry. The old adage about the goose that laid the golden egg sets forth a great and simple truth.

The need for applying a fair share of profits to new capital investments is too frequently ignored by some labor leaders when making their demands upon employers. Such capital investments are essential if we are to meet the needs at all time of full employment and increased production of national wealth out of which new tax dollars can flow. Labor must recognize that if we are to protect the value of the American dollar we are going to have to increase the production of new wealth out of which we can get the taxes necessary to reduce our national debt which in its present amount threatens the standard of living of all of us in the country, including labor.

Although this discussion of mine about basic objectives of the American labor movement and the relation

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of those objectives to the preservation of our capitalistic economy may seem somewhat remote from the problem of passing labor legislation in the Eightieth Congress, it is not in fact nearly so remote as it may seem at first glance. If we are to make our American system work we must remember that it will not and cannot work independent of reasonable governmental regulations and controls over all groups within the system.

Our economic system cannot function in a prosperous way unless the Government, through friendly cooperation manifested through the democratic processes imposed upon all of us by the elected representatives of the people, sees to it that no economic group is allowed to take advantage of, transgress upon or exploit the rights of the public. I am afraid that sometimes some labor leaders and some labor groups so concerned about the economic difficulties which confront American workers make the mistake of thinking that the workers' economic interest can be considered separate and apart from our other national economic problems.

There is no denying the fact that legislation is going to be passed by the Eightieth Congress. I hope it will be constructive and helpful legislation rather than restrictive and punitive legislation. I hope that the Congress will exercise leadership rather than yield to pressure for punitive legislation in its attempts to improve industrial relations. It is to be regretted that much of the need for corrective legislation grows out of the failure on the part of labor to do voluntarily some of the things which now I am satisfied it must be required by law to do.

Although I shall discuss it at much greater length later in this speech, I wish to mention, as an example of what I mean, namely, jurisdictional disputes. In my judgment American labor cannot excuse itself for not settling jurisdictional disputes without resort to economic action. This is especially true of disputes between affiliates of the same parent, such as the A.F. of L. The right to organize, the right to strike, the right to carry on union activities, like all other rights which we as free Americans enjoy and are entitled to, are not absolute rights. It is basic to our system of law that rights must be exercised in such fashion as not to destroy or unreasonably to impinge upon the rights of others.

Unfortunately some of the practices and abuses of labor are doing violence to our concepts of freedom and liberty because they are, through the exercise of license, injuring the common good. The jurisdictional dispute is a good example of what I mean. It violates the property and personal rights of innocent third parties, including both employers and the general public.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published at this point in my remarks an analysis of existing types of jurisdictional disputes. In this memorandum I have tried to make available to the Members of the Senate a description of the various types of jurisdictional disputes. There is so much misunderstanding about jurisdictional disputes and what they involve that I thought it would be helpful to include in my remarks some descriptive and definitional material.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

The term, "jurisdictional dis-

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putes," has been used very loosely to cover a great variety of situations that have as their common ingredient a controversy between two or more labor unions. Before discussing the specific provisions of the proposed bill on this subject, it will be useful to consider the type of disputes commonly labeled as jurisdictional disputes and the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board dealing with such controversies.

The following controversies have at one time or another been termed "jurisdictional disputes."

TYPE OF JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

1. Disputes over territorial jurisdiction: This type of dispute results when two or more locals of the same international union have been allotted the right to organize employees within the same community. As a result they may come into conflict. However, this type of dispute is not common because the international union is generally able to force an agreement between its subordinate locals.

2. Trade jurisdiction: Trade jurisdiction is the converse of territorial jurisdiction, inasmuch as the former implies that a union has the right to organize given workers in a particular territory. The assignment of specific trade jurisdiction to one union presumably excludes other unions from seeking to enroll workers performing the same type of work. When two or more subordinate unions of the same international assert that, by reason of the jurisdiction granted them in their charter, each has the right to organize workers performing the same type of work, "a dispute arises which is properly termed a jurisdictional dispute."

3. Demarcation disputes: These usually arise over work which borders on two or more crafts belonging to the same central organization and trades which are closely related. Changes in the methods of machinery frequently furnish a basis for claims of one group against another.

4. Dual union disputes: A dual union is commonly referred to as an organization which claims to maintain itself as an independent body rivaling another organization that has control over the same class of workmen and operates within the same territory. Such unions usually arise as a result of schism within the parent organization.

5. Rival union disputes: These arise from the existence of two central labor organizations. Thus the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are frequently in competition for the allegiance of the same group of workers, and they stand ready to assume the representation of workers currently represented by the other. Disputes arising between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. have generally been termed "jurisdictional disputes," but strictly speaking they do not fall within this category.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD POLICY

The early policy of the National Labor Relations Board was to refuse to undertake to resolve a jurisdictional dispute between unions affiliated with the same parent organization. In the leading case on this subject (Aluminum Co. of America, 1 N.L.R.B. 530) the Board stated that it "should not interfere with the internal affairs of labor organizations" and that the affairs of the A.F. of L. and its chartered bodies "can best be decided by the parties themselves."

With the advent of the C.I.O. the Board was faced with the question of deciding whether it would handle cases presenting disputes between

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A.F. of L. unions and C.I.O. unions that were still technically affiliated with the A.F. of L. The Board recognized that the C.I.O. unions had ceased to be under the authority of the A.F. of L., and consequently rejected the contention that the policy it had announced in the Aluminum Co. case was applicable (Interlake Iron Corp. 2 N.L.R.B. 1036).

Present Board practice is to proceed with cases involving representation disputes between two unions affiliated with the same parent organization. . . .

STATISTICS ON JURISDICTIONAL STRIKES

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics divides its data concerning so-called jurisdictional strikes into two groups: jurisdictional strikes and rival-union strikes. Although the Bureau has not officially defined these classifications, apparently a jurisdictional strike means a strike resulting from a dispute between two or more unions concerning the right to organize or retain membership in a particular trade or industry. Since the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. do not recognize jurisdictional boundaries between them, it follows that A.F. of L.-C.I.O. disputes are not included in the Bureau's statistics on jurisdictional strikes. It appears that the Bureau's definition of rival-union disputes includes controversies between two or more unions as to which shall represent a particular group of workers. Thus a rival-union dispute differs from a jurisdictional dispute in that the latter is concerned with claims to jobs or kinds of work; whereas in a rival-union dispute the unions recognize no jurisdictional boundaries between them, but each claims the right to represent the same workers. Of course, the rival-union dispute is not limited to A.F. of L. and C.I.O. controversies but extends to disputes between independent unions and affiliated unions as well.

Jurisdictional and rival union strikes and percent of total for all causes, 1935 to June, 1946

PART A. TOTAL JURISDICTIONAL AND RIVAL UNION STRIKES

Year	Number of strikes		Workers involved		Man-days idle	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1935	37	1.8	11,640	1.0	266,628	1.8
1936	39	1.8	8,276	1.2	75,716	.6
1937	179	3.7	87,356	4.5	737,655	2.4
1938	150	5.4	34,513	5.1	851,591	9.5
1939	156	5.9	49,539	4.2	633,634	3.4
1940	158	6.3	26,641	4.6	208,808	3.1
1941	272	6.3	155,322	6.6	1,355,317	5.9
1942	159	5.2	67,272	7.9	415,795	8.8
1943	130	3.6	37,278	1.9	199,603	1.5
1944	159	3.3	95,889	4.5	815,845	9.2
1945	149	3.3	135,600	4.5	1,188,400	4.9
1946 (January to June)	74	3.4	20,700	.7	(1)	(1)

[1] Not available.

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PART B. JURISDICTIONAL STRIKES ONLY

Year	Number of strikes		Workers involved		Man-days idle	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1935	25	1.2	3,535	0.3	63,025	0.4
1936	37	1.7	4,236	.6	62,236	.5
1937	54	1.1	6,013	.3	90,026	.3
1938	54	1.9	4,495	.7	62,162	.7
1939	75	2.8	8,671	.7	68,809	.4
1940	77	3.1	8,087	1.4	59,016	.9
1941	93	2.2	37,410	1.6	260,985	1.1
1942	50	1.6	8,956	1.1	41,599	.9
1943	53	1.4	9,362	.5	40,544	.3
1944	70	1.4	17,551	.8	56,656	.6
1945	72	1.6	49,100	1.6	645,800	2.7
1946 (January to June)	24	1.1	12,200	.4	(1)	(1)

PART C. RIVAL UNION STRIKES ONLY

1935	12	0.6	8,105	0.7	203,603	1.4
1936	2	.1	4,040	.6	13,480	.1
1937	125	2.6	81,343	4.2	647,629	2.1
1938	96	3.5	30,018	4.4	789,429	8.8
1939	81	3.1	40,868	3.5	564,825	3.2
1940	81	3.2	18,554	3.2	149,792	2.2
1941	179	4.1	117,912	5.0	1,094,332	4.8
1942	109	3.6	58,316	6.8	374,196	7.9
1943	77	2.2	27,916	1.4	159,059	1.2
1944	89	1.9	78,338	3.7	759,189	8.6
1945	77	1.7	86,500	2.9	542,600	2.2
1946 (January to June)	50	2.3	8,500	.3	(1)	(1)

[1] Not available.

Compiled and computed from data supplied by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

CLOSED SHOP

REGULATION OF DISCHARGES OVER CLOSED-SHOP CONTRACTS

The proviso to section 8 (3) of the National Labor Relations Act provides that an agreement requiring union membership as a condition of employment shall not be unlawful if the requirement is made pursuant to an agreement with a labor organization not company dominated or assisted, and provided further that the organization is the exclusive representative of the employees in an appropriate bargaining unit at the time the agreement is made. The Board has always construed these provisions narrowly and has insisted that they be met before it would uphold a discharge pursuant to a closed-shop contract.

In recent years the Board has been

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presented with a number of cases involving closed-shop agreements that have been used in such fashion as to deprive employees of their employment and to prevent them from exercising the right guaranteed them in section 7 of the act—to select collective-bargaining representatives of their own choosing. The usual situation is that employees near the end of their contract term wish to change their representation. However, because the agreement requires membership as a condition of employment, they run the risk of being expelled from membership and consequently being discharged if they engage in any activity designed to oust the contracting union as their representative. It is obvious, therefore, that the closed-shop contract lends itself to the perpetuation of one union as the collective-bargaining representative, and, consequently, deprives employees of the rights guaranteed them by Congress freely to choose and select representatives of their own.

The only remedy presently available to the Board is to proceed against the employer if he knowingly enters into or applies a closed-shop agreement when the contracting union's purpose is to discipline employees who have agitated, at an appropriate time, for a rival organization. No remedy is available against the contracting union.

A necessary condition for granting relief to employees in the foregoing situations is the employer have knowledge of the purpose to which the closed-shop agreement will be put. If the employer does not have that knowledge or if the Board cannot prove that he had such knowledge, the employees have no remedy under the act as it now stands. In any case, the contract union which expells employees from membership and thereby brings about their discharge from employment is certainly as culpable as the employee who acquiesces in such a program. It seems desirable, therefore, that some remedy should be available against the offending labor organization.

* * *

It has been an opinion of mine ever since the National Labor Relations Act—known as the Wagner Act—was passed that the act would never prove to be the Magna Carta for labor until it was modified in those respects necessary in order to make the rules applicable to both teams, so to speak. Over the years I have argued many times that the rights and the protection which the Wagner Act gives to labor were long overdue, and that the act was necessary to protect labor from unfair labor practices of employers; also that it was necessary to check the well known union-busting tactics of employers which visited upon us such celebrated cases of labor violence as we witnessed from the 1890's until 1937, and even later, when the act as passed was finally declared constitutional.

In the midst of the present tremendous propaganda drive for punitive labor legislation, it is easy for the American people to forget what has happened in the past—and what is bound to happen again in the future if certain types of employers are freed from the limitations of the Wagner Act. In fact, no one can study the American industrial scene without recognizing that in the competitive struggle for profits it is very easy to treat human beings as commodities to be bought and sold on the labor market on the basis of supply and demand, unless the Government is ever vigilant through such legislation as the Wagner Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, safety legisla-

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tion, and all the rest of our very much needed labor legislation, to protect the freedom of free workers.

WAGNER ACT

I am convinced that if today we abolished the Wagner Act, within less than 6 months American industrial life would in large part return to the unfair labor practices that existed prior to the passage of the Wagner Act. I see too much evidence of an attitude of union busting and anti-labor sentiment in some of the employer witnesses appearing before the Labor Committee not to be convinced that the extremists among American employers are still sufficiently large in number so that the repeal of the Wagner Act would result in another era of labor exploitation that ultimately would lead to tremendous violence and chaos.

In reaching my conclusions as to what labor legislation I think should be passed, I have attempted to analyze some of the legislative proposals we have before us, many of which I cannot support.

In the comments I am now about to make on some of the bills upon which we have been hearing testimony I shall confine myself to the most important provisions of those bills which have a direct bearing upon the Wagner Act.

I turn first to Senate bill 360, introduced by the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Ball]. We must inquire into what the bill does to the collective-bargaining relationship, because it is an obvious fact—though frequently overlooked—that it is certainly as important today to maintain and insure industrial peace, when 15,000,000 workers are organized, as it was in 1935 when there were only 4,000,000 workers organized.

We should also inquire into what contribution Senate bill 360 or any other bill makes to reward those employers who have accepted collective bargaining and find it a healthy and useful way of dealing with their employees. There are many of these. They far outnumber the articulate minority who wish to return to an outmoded concept of labor relations. Does this bill permit an employer who really wants to give meaning to the rights of his employees to do so without fear that by so doing he will be forced into an untenable competitive position? In other words, is Senate bill 360 one which encourages the employer to sit down with the freely chosen representative of his employees and go to work on things that matter to both of them? Or does it encourage him to destroy this relationship?

S. 360

In general Senate bill 360 attempts to do four things: First, by a change in definitions, procedures, and substantive requirements of procedures, to limit and in some cases, abolish, remedies which employees have been customarily granted by the N.L.R.B. under the Wagner Act; second, to make available to employers certain newly created procedures; third, to reconstitute the National Labor Relations Board by splitting its functions in half and making the Department of Justice responsible for administrative and investigative functions; and fourth, to repeal the Clayton Act of 1914 and the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 in vital respects and thus to make virtually all strikes illegal and subject unions and strikers to injunctions at the instance of employers, to treble damage actions, and to criminal prosecution as well.

By a change in the definition of the term "employee," section 2 (b) (3) of Senate bill 360 not only removes all remedies available to

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strikers under the Wagner Act; for all practical purposes, it completely destroys the right to strike, one of the most basic in our land, as Lincoln has said. This is accomplished by a simple parenthetical insert, whereby a worker loses his employee status if, while engaging in a strike, he has been replaced or has refused an offer of reinstatement. Even at the common law, employees who were out on strike were still employees. This concept was incorporated in the Wagner Act.

Either we must recognize the economic right to strike or lock out, or fight it out on the economic front, or substitute the Government for that economic right. In my judgment, the bill of the Senator from Minnesota would put the Government on the employer's side of the table with such power, as to break a strike if a strike were called. There cannot be the right to strike and the right to lock out without having injuries inflicted. People suffer from the exercise of economic action. I would be the first to admit it. But the point I want to make is that I think the Senator's bill would give the employer the aid of such governmental power under the change of definition of "employee" as found in the bill, that it would be a pretty stupid employer who would not be able to use the bill in such a manner as to defeat any strike.

Another change in S. 360—and one which has been opposed by virtually all union representatives and some employer spokesmen who have appeared before the committee—is that repealing the so-called closed-shop proviso in the Wagner Act. All contracts or agreements with labor organizations which make union membership any kind of a condition of employment are, in effect, abolished outright by S. 360. No type of union security provision may hereafter be urged as a defense to a discharge under section 8 (3). Such contracts may still be entered into, but the employer, if he tries to enforce them, will be subject to reinstatement and back-pay proceedings before the Board. By putting this kind of a burden on the employer, indirectly, it is apparently assumed that union security provisions will be abolished.

The arguments for and against the closed shop are many, and, I think, generally familiar to Senators. I do not deny that the closed shop has, in some instances, led to abuses. But I seriously question whether it is any answer to such abuses for the Congress to make it an unfair labor practice for employers to enter into such contracts with unions that are the freely chosen representatives of a majority of the workers before the contract is made.

Certainly any proposal seeking to outlaw the closed shop should be carefully weighed and closely examined in the light of industrial-relations experience. In this connection I should like to refer to some data collected by the Department of Labor bearing on this problem.

EXTENT OF THE CLOSED SHOP

An examination by the Industrial Relations Branch in 1945 on the extent of collective bargaining (Bulletin 865) of the Department of Labor indicated that approximately 30 per cent of the workers under agreement were covered by the closed shop. The closed shop (and union shop, with preferential hiring, which is equivalent to the closed shop) prevails in the following manufacturing industries: Baking, brewery, canned and preserved foods, hosiery, men's and women's clothing, printing and publishing, and ship-building. An examination of the number of workers

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covered by the closed shop will give some idea of the possible impact of the outlawing of closed shop provisions on existing collective bargaining agreements. A study prepared by the Bureau in 1939 indicates that more than one-half of the 7,000 agreements on file with the Bureau, and current at that time, contained provisions requiring that all employees be members of the union. The estimate at that time was that approximately 3,000,000 of the nearly 8,000,000 organized workers in the United States were working under closed shop conditions.

THE CLOSED SHOP IN RELATION TO MAJOR DISPUTES IN 1946

An examination of the more detailed statement below indicates that none of the major strikes originating in 1946 would have been avoided had the existing legislation on the closed shop been passed. In only 4 of the 29 stoppages, which accounted for approximately 1 per cent of the total man-days lost, were there predominantly closed-shop industries involved, and in all four of these instances the major issue was the question of wages. It can, of course, be argued that had existing closed-shop legislation been passed there might well have been strikes as the result of the legislation itself. Statements submitted to the Senate and House Labor Committees would seem to indicate that there might well be serious labor-management disputes if the closed shop were outlawed.

Of the man-days idle resulting from the 29 major strikes originating in 1946, 96 per cent resulted from disputes in which the major issue was wages, and almost 4 per cent—3.8—from disputes in which wages and some form of union security were involved.

Mr. Morse. The total of 709,000 man-days idle resulting from these four strikes in closed-shop industries accounted for 1 per cent of the total man-days lost as a result of the 29 major stoppages.

After discussing Senate bill 133, which seeks to prevent industry-wide collective bargaining, and Senate bill 55, Senator Morse continued:

Mr. President, I now turn to some of the proposals which I think should be made by way of amendment to the Wagner Act.

The bill which I am now introducing falls into four general topics:

First. It defines several new unfair labor practices with regard to labor organizations and their agents and also corrects certain deficiencies in the present unfair labor practice sections of the Wagner Act; and

Second. It provides for the expansion of the Board from three to seven members in view of the increased amount of work placed upon the Board and also permits the Board to operate in departments; and

Third. The bill guarantees employers and all other persons affected by the Wagner Act their constitutional right to freedom of speech; and

Fourth. It permits the Board as the expert agency of the Federal Government dealing with labor relations to seek injunctive relief in the Federal circuit courts of appeals to restrain the unfair labor practices of both employers and employees in instances where the Board is persuaded that the situation demands speedy relief.

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FORUM: HAS AMERICAN

YES!

By Sylvan Kling

WE all like to think that the public education system in the United States is the best in the world. We believe wholeheartedly that in no other country does such an educational system exist. Without a doubt, our public schools are the freest and most liberal of any nation. And yet, our public education system has failed!

"If it is the best in the world, how can it be a failure?" you may ask. If you had come in contact with school children from abroad, you would be startled how much further they are advanced academically than our American school children of the same age.

To those who feel that American education is the best, it should be pointed out that only our intense nationalism and our habit of taking false assumptions for granted have been used as criteria. Armed with a few statistics, it is easy to see that the United States public education system falls far short of perfection.

According to recent figures given by the American Council of Education, there are 10,000,000 adults in this country with so little schooling that they are virtually illiterate. Nearly 2,000,000 children, ranging in age from six to 15 are not in school. An estimated 5,000,000 out of 17,000,000 men examined in the draft were rejected for educational, mental and physical defects which could have been prevented by proper education.

Furthermore, the United States spends 1.5 per cent of its national income for its schools, while Great Britain spends an estimated 3 per cent and the Soviet Union an estimated 7.5 per cent.

To attack the public school system in this country on grounds of its inadequate financing would not be fair. The burden of blame in this case falls on the legislative branch of the government and also on the people. In recent months, the teacher shortage, teachers' strike and underpayment all have been brought to the attention of the citizenry. We are aware that the situation is unhealthy and it is up to us to remedy it.

What I do claim is that the public education system, aside from the poor financing angle, has been a failure. Public education officials have been guilty of errors of commission and omission In defending public education as it exists, it is easy to say, "Well, considering the material and resources they have to work with, the public schools have done a thoroughly satisfactory job." But the material and resources at the disposal of the public schools have not been wisely or efficiently used. The system itself is antiquated, based on nineteenth century philosophy rather than twentieth century ideas.

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PUBLIC EDUCATION FAILED?

NO!

By Marjorie Foulkrod

IF the first attempted, non-stop, round-the-world flight of a new 100-passenger plane were interrupted by a forced landing in Gander, and then again in Shannon, Ireland, for an engine check, would you say the trip should be cancelled and the plane scrapped? The ultimate goal was not reached, but no one had ever tried the course before. Why not try to set the best possible record for the rest of the flight? Why suffer humiliation from temporary breakdowns on a course that promises remarkable achievement?

GOAL

American public education can be compared to the longest flight ever attempted in the largest passenger plane. Let's look at the record of its aims, achievements and temporary breakdowns.

No political system founded on the principle of government of the people, for the people and by the people can hope to survive unless the people think. A government is only as enlightened as its citizens. Consequently, one of the aims of American public education is to educate for the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Since our democracy rests on the concept that all men are created equal, the government has established the goal of providing equal opportunity to all children for unlimited free education. This is, in itself, a fantastically complex undertaking; its trial period has been short. The goal has not been reached but that does not diminish the value of the purpose.

Had American education assumed the responsibility of educating only the elite, the task would have been much easier, the results more spectacular. Instead, we took on the unexplored realm of mass education; 50 per cent of the students never progress beyond the eighth grade and 40 per cent never beyond high school. How many of these must stop for economic reasons, and how many are mentally limited, we do not know, but the fact remains that mass education, education for everybody, must of necessity be directed at the largest group.

ORIGIN OF CONCEPT

The American public education system originated in the New England colonies. As early as 1642 a law was passed by Massachusetts requiring that children be enabled to "read and understand principles of religion and the capital laws of the land." In 1647 another law made the 1642 law more effective by requiring every community of 50 families to provide a teacher and every community of 100 families to establish a grammar school.

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(Continued from page 338)

The outdated and unprogressive methods in general use today have been in use for decades. It is time they were discarded.

THE TEACHER

To get at the roots of the problem, we must go directly to the teacher. The foremost failure of the public education system is in its selection of teachers. Professor John K. Norton, Teachers College, Columbia University, declared a few months ago that one teacher out of every five is substandard. Benjamin Fine, in his recent series of articles in *The New York Times* stated: "One of every seven teachers today is serving on an emergency, substandard certificate." Unqualified teachers were scattered liberally throughout the public schools long before the current "shortage." Perhaps Harlan Logan, editor of *Look* magazine, best described the inadequacies of the typical teacher when he wrote in May, 1946: "The slow moving individuals who hinder the school life of our children include . . . teachers whose knowledge and notes cover only a fraction of the subject and who see to it that the course ends before this fraction is exhausted." This same idea was borne out by Mr. Fine. "In some institutions for the training of teachers, an undue proportion of the student's time is taken up with courses in 'education.' The students become technical experts in how to teach, but frequently they have but a shallow knowledge of the subject-matter itself."

Not only are most teachers in the public schools lacking in knowledge, but they are poorly equipped to handle children. Married women teachers are frowned upon. School boards are reluctant to hire them. Without their own family life and without their own children, teachers are not sufficiently sympathetic with the problems and needs of the young child. These teachers have come to regard the pupil as a cog in a machine, or a machine in himself. The human factor of personality is neglected. This manifests itself in the failure of the teacher to win the admiration and respect of the class.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

It is in this field that progressive education has scored a triumph. According to John H. Niemeyer, headmaster of the Oak Lane Country Day School in Philadelphia, which is under the auspices of Temple University, the essence of good education for children in the younger age groups is the promotion of a friendly relationship between pupils and teacher. There must be mutual respect, admiration and affection.

At this school, the teachers are guides as well as leaders. They determine the broad outlines of what is to be studied, and they do exercise a degree of control. However, the problem of discipline is a matter of degree. All teachers, whether of the progressive school of thought or not, agree that the teacher must respect the child and must do more than teach him "book learning." At the Oak Lane Country Day School, the teachers accept the training of the mind in traditional skills as a necessary part of the curricula, but equally important is the development of the youngster's reasoning capac-

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ity. Progressive education includes teaching children to figure out their own problems for themselves. It trains children to be emotionally stable.

At such a school, when a student starts to make a mistake, the teacher refrains from stopping him or pointing out what might happen if he is not careful. The teacher prefers to let the child profit from his mistakes, hoping that in this way the error and solution will be more vividly impressed upon his mind. The exception is, of course, when the errors are dangerous to the youngsters' welfare.

"The curse of contemporary education is the crowded classroom," Neimeyer believes. At Oak Lane, classes seldom exceed 20 children. Smaller classes permit the teacher to know each child, and to give individualized instruction. The best way to learn how to do something is by doing it yourself, and it is along these lines that progressive education is patterned. This doesn't foster egotism and selfishness among children, as many public education authorities assert. On the contrary, it teaches them to respect each other's ability.

In a controlled experiment in Portland, Oregon, last year, a group of average public school children with the best public school teachers available, were tested with a group of average progressive school children with the best progressive teachers. The results showed that after a four-month term, the progressive school students, although only slightly higher in Intelligence Quotients, were found to be more sympathetic towards each other's needs and more tolerant of all races and religions than the public school group. Such an experiment showed that:

1. Public school children are woefully lacking in many of the attitudes needed in a democratic society;

2. Typical teaching procedures, even though employed by superior public school teachers, do virtually nothing to develop democratic attitudes;

3. Experimental evidence proved that superior teachers using democratic procedures have a measure of success in establishing democratic attitudes.

Byron Kirby, principal at the Oliver School, in South Bend, Indiana, suggested what might be called "The Creed of the Public School Teacher." "An important factor in school room control and achievement is the creation of a good spirit and attitude. First of all, teach the group to respect and honor you; to have a friendly feeling toward each other; to be proud of everything that pertains to their class. . . .

"One can meet his class in an unfriendly, disinterested way, give instructions with an air of aloofness, and cover the subject in a cold, matter-of-fact fashion. But in this procedure there is no integrating factor; no bond of sympathy, love, pride; no common incentive, no immediate and worthwhile goal, no inspiration. And these after all are fundamental to maximum achievement.

"How to instill the above factors is an art. In the first place, it is necessary for the teacher to be alert, friendly, broad, business-like and keenly

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interested in every student. The teacher should radiate this feeling to the degree that each member of the class knows the teacher is personally interested in him. It's a good plan to visit the home of all patrons two or three times per semester.

"In the next place, permit the class to exercise as much initiative as they possibly can assume. . . ."

These ideals set forth by Mr. Kirby are unfortunately ignored completely by most teachers in the day-by-day classroom routine.

GRADING

There are other grounds upon which the public education system can be termed a failure. Mr. Logan pointed an editorial finger at what he called "outdated yardsticks" and said that what we have today is "an antiquated system of evaluating students largely on the basis of their ability to memorize facts and marking them with letters or numbers."

Too much emphasis has been and is being placed on marks. Not enough emphasis is focused on the learning process. To attain a perfect report card is to succeed in school. What the educators fail to realize is that after the student graduates from school, good marks are not nearly as important as what he actually learned in school. Marks will not buy bread and butter.

Most of the difficulty results from an unstandardized method of grading and personal differences in judging abilities. The public education system has made no provisions to remedy this. In fact, only a few alternatives have been proposed. One of the best proposals recommended by a teacher in Detroit suggested a three-point program. First, frequent brief notes home stating the child's progress. Second, standardized tests, objectively given and graded at the end of each term and the results sent home. Third, remedial classes for all those whose tests shows them to be below average accomplishment.

Along with grading goes the system whereby bright students are "skipped," dull students are "flunked." As a reward for having consistently high grades, (and in certain cases where the parents request it), the student is hurried on to the next grade. This is a fallacy. If the child is a genius, he will continue to outshine his classmates, despite their chronological advantage. Chances are the youngster is *not* a genius. In this case, putting him in with an older group will hardly allow for the fullest exploitation of his ability. He will not be aided. On the contrary, he is forced into an artificial environment. Physically, mentally and socially he belongs with children of his own age even though he is more intelligent.

The educational system likewise fails when it is forced to employ the non-promotional device known as "flunking." To be "left down," to use its more popular term, is a moral disgrace to a backward youngster. True, a child must comprehend the basic work before being introduced to advance work. But in not promoting him at the end of the term, the teacher is creating an unhealthy situation. Not only is an artificial environment forced

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upon the child wherein he is the oldest of the group, but he will be psychologically maladjusted and will, thereafter, resent the debasement.

The schools must work out a program whereby these "individual cases" can be handled to the satisfaction of all parties involved. Special provisions should be made for backward pupils *during* the term, not at the end of the term. The teacher must devote extra time and special attention to a backward pupil so that he *can* catch up to the rest of the class. If the backwardness is due to mental deficiency, demotion will not be the answer.

CURRICULUM

Public education has failed to promulgate and maintain an adequate curriculum. Much of what is taught in schools is totally unnecessary; a great deal that should be taught in schools is not taught. For instance, there are not enough field trips. How many classes get beyond the traditional visit to the zoo? Some teachers take their classes to the local library, or to a few metropolitan museums of art or science. But too little planning along these lines has resulted in a static condition of long, drawn-out classroom drudgery.

What has the school system done in facilitating the adjustment of youth in the transition period from school to job? We recognize the importance of work experience in the education of a young person, but little is done to relate school and work. Help in finding a part-time job or the first job after leaving school with counseling or the problems involved in this change would be a great help. (Helen F. Faust, "The Public School and the Delinquent," *Forum*, February, 1947.)

There is little attention given to education or the development of character, personality and emotional stability. Few, if any, provisions have been made for parent education after regular school hours. Medical and counseling services should be greater. There should be more play facilities, more manual training equipment, more gymnasium equipment, more scientific apparatus, more visual education equipment. School principals should be more active in the life of the community. Schools should work more closely with parents in each case of delinquency and should cooperate with all community agencies which can assist. Juvenile delinquency can be curbed to a great degree with the cooperation of the public schools.

In viewing all these facts, one wonders how such obvious faults were overlooked. But the fact remains—they were. Someone or some group is lax in the public education system. Perhaps funds for an increased salary range would be more easily forthcoming if the public schools accomplished more than just giving the millions of students who flow through them a "smattering of ignorance."

(Continued from page 339)

American public education can be called a community of systems that have grown out of the original New England concept of education. Educa-

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tional responsibility rests in the local community which must levy taxes, build schools, provide equipment, select textbooks, supervise the teaching staff with control from the state board in varying degrees. The community of systems in the 48 states have fought the same battles. The battles for compulsory school attendance, started in 1852, was fought for 78 years throughout the states. The first step was legislation; the second was devising adequate methods to enforce the laws. (The truant officer is the unfortunate outgrowth.)

Second of the big battles was the fight for public support of schools through taxation; then came elimination of sectarianism; state control and supervision of schools, and now national aid to schools.

ACHIEVEMENTS

American public education, still in its infancy, can, nevertheless, claim many achievements.

In the fight against illiteracy, progress has been made to the extent that, in the rapidly increasing population, between 1870 and 1930, illiteracy declined from 20 per cent to 4.3 per cent.

Attendance in our 6,005 high schools in 1900 was 519,251. In 1938 the number of high schools had increased to 25,467, and some 24,259 of these reported 7,420,702 pupils. In 1938, 7,000,000-odd pupils received free public education at the secondary level in the United States, while 470,000 attended state-aided secondary schools in Great Britain and 603,000 in the U.S.S.R.

Numerous investigations have shown that in a community where education is emphasized, the wealth of the community increases almost in proportion to the increase in educational benefits. This is not surprising to a nation which has placed great faith in education, which realizes the importance of teaching the human mind to use the tools at its disposal for self betterment and the betterment of society.

Those who maintain that American public education has utterly failed are enmeshed in the complex problems it has to face, its temporary breakdowns. A skilled mechanic is not born, he must be trained; a skilled technician must not only learn a technique, but must know how to apply it. The technical ability of a large number of our citizens unquestionably contributes in a very large degree to our national wealth. Look at the figures on enrollment in vocational classes. Trade and industry classes increased from approximately 117,000 in 1918 to 850,000 in 1942. Enrollment in agricultural training programs increased from 15,000 in 1918 to 605,000 in 1942. Special skills are part of the American public education program. We all reap the benefits of more productive and sanitary farms and the technical advance of American industry.

The United States has the highest standard of living of any nation in the world. What this means in terms of automobiles and radios we are not concerned with here, but we are interested in what it means in standards of

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housing, diet, health and sanitation. Part of the mass education program of American education concerns itself with these problems. Many criticize the schools for wasting time teaching hygiene—clean hands, clean hair and clothes—cooking, sewing and home economics. But when 49 million people do not go beyond eighth grade, it seems only logical to give them training which will improve their standards of housing, diet, health and sanitation.

Our standard of living is already the highest in the world, but we have a long way to go. The public education system is helping in a large measure to raise the standards. The enrollments in home economics courses have increased from 30,000 in 1918 to 954,000 in 1942. It is impossible to make a quantitative measurement of how this has boosted the standard of living, but the results are showing. It is a mistake to divorce the attainment of a high standard of living, cleaner, healthier homes and better food from citizenship.

CRITICISMS

What are the chief hues and cries against American public education?

Equality of educational opportunity does not exist. This is true; no one would deny it when he realizes that each student in New York has $179 spent on his education and each Mississippi student has only $35. Equal educational opportunity is a goal, just as equal economic opportunity is a goal. A great step toward correcting the evils is the recognition of their existence.

Our education facilities are completely inadequate—claim the debunkers of our system. Our high school units have increased four times in number and our high school pupils twelve times. Such rapid growth is sure to witness considerable dislocations. The system is too big. The growth has been too rapid.

Classroom space is limited, consequently, classes and space must be scheduled to allow for the best use of the available space. Some courses must be sacrificed because of space limitations. Classes are too large for individual instruction. Of necessity, the day must be divided into pupil periods—50 minute intervals, special curriculum, tests and grading.

More money is needed for adequate facilities. But it doesn't follow, as many claim, that the most expensive educational system is the best. In some schools, the administration, with the cooperation of the local community, will weight spending for one department to the detriment of all others. Some schools place elaborate emphasis on physical education, while academic and manual training allowances are scrimped.

We cannot say that the smallest school is the best school, for when we look at the recent development in rural schooling, we note that the majority of rural districts have achieved better facilities, wider curriculum, better teachers by the consolidation of schools of several townships. In 1926, there were about 161,000 one-teacher schools and 13,584 consolidated schools. In 1940, there were 113,000 one-teacher schools and 25,000 consolidated

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schools. Of course, the consolidated school system requires transportation facilities. In this, our public education has shown achievement. The number of children transported to school in 1929-1930 was 1,902,000, while in 1940-41 facilities were available for transporting 4,141,000. The better the facilities for transporting children to school, the greater the chances of reaching a larger number of students.

Some people contend that the *schools are too big.* This is unquestionably true in some cases, but the larger schools have their advantages. A larger school can afford to have better gymnasiums, swimming pools, more varied club activities, health services of doctors, dentists, nurses and specialists. In addition, they provide reading clinics, student counsellors and excellent cafeterias.

Opponents of the system hold that public school teachers are *old, frustrated and inadequate.* They assume that an old teacher is necessarily a poor teacher; a young teacher, a good teacher. Any one who has ever come under the guidance of a teacher long experienced with the adolescent mind, and with a keen devotion to his subject, can easily refute the truth of this dangerous generality.

Teacher tenure is held to be the reason for these antiquated and worthless hangers-on. After a probation teaching period, the system allows teachers the privilege of remaining at their job, unless a specific reason can be found for firing them. Tenure also guarantees no salary cuts. Teacher tenure was originally devised as a protection for the teacher against political whims and the evils of a system under which the teacher could be fired in May when contracts were renewed and then re-hired at a lower salary.

Those who say that teachers are frustrated and inadequate should look at the problems they face. Since the problem of discipline is not adequately taken care of at home, the school has taken it on. You cannot hope to train for citizenship unless you start at first base. One of the greatest frustrations a teacher has to face, when trying to explain the history of the United States, is to have to spend half the time with interruptions like "Aw, that ain't right, my old man says . . ." Neither corporal punishment nor lowering the academic grade is permitted as a means of punishment. What can the teacher do when disciplinary problems take up class time?

LOOK AT THE HOMES

Parents, unquestionably, share at least a 50-50 responsibility with the school. Guidance and discipline must start when the child is scarcely out of the cradle. In his first four years, the child should learn more about fundamental behavior than in the rest of his life. The parents' responsibility is staggering; their failure is proportionate.

The school must take what it gets. The sins of American home training are laid at its door. A great many parents no longer want the rigorous but rewarding task they have undertaken. Let George do it. If George fails, it's his fault.

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Just as in the matter of discipline, the problem of better facilities and higher pay is a fight against public apathy. The fight against public apathy is not a new one, nor is it exclusive to the United States. Nevertheless, it must be carried out to improve the social position and economic benefits of our teachers and the value and standing of our schools.

Public education is accused of *leveling,* training the best down to the level of the worst. Our standards are accused of being too low. But again I must point out that we have undertaken mass education; everybody has to be taken care of by the schools—those with the genius I. Q. and those with substandard mentality.

At one time, it was blissfully assumed that everyone, given instruction and time, could eventually learn to read and write. But it has been found that there are a considerable number of people who cannot associate the written word with any meaning no matter how much time is spent on them. On the basis of tests, it has been discovered that about 12 per cent of the general population have reading defects.

Some schools have facilities to take care of these people who cannot learn. Other schools have no facilities and have to take care of them anyway until they are 16.

Our *schools* are called *habit-ridden* and *tradition bound.* They are not considered progressive because they put their faith in the belief that certain studies, English, history and mathematics, for example, develop the mind and experience. Some contend that a field trip to the mint or to the nearby dairy would do a great deal more. This is doubtless a diversion for the student, but the progressivists sometimes lose sight of the fact that the field trip is *added* experience, not the whole of it. Their *laissez-faire* system of individual growth would free the school from tradition, but would plunge the already complex system into utter confusion.

The schools are accused of *moving at a snail's pace.* But the testimony of the Army's speed-up system of education convinces one that caution is preferable to complete chaos. Of course, public education wants to get away from grades, marks and credits in the long run. But Rome wasn't built in a day.

American public education does not claim to know all the answers. It is founded on a relatively new concept. There is, of course, a great deal of room for improvement. But when we look at the problems it has had to face in its first 150 years, and its achievements, we find it completely false to say that it has failed.

Education has become the ideal scapegoat for the economic, political, philosophical and religious sins of the people. Why condemn American public education for its temporary breakdowns when it is constantly growing, and when it has only reached the first lap of its ultimate goal.

We never condemn a man for setting a standard too high to achieve in his lifetime. Then let's not condemn American public education until we look at the long term record.

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OUR

OUR ROSTRUM is your platform. You are invited to submit letters on any of the issues or articles published in FORUM. The best letters will be printed in this column each month. The editor must reserve the right to publish letters in part only because of space limitations.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

To the Editor:

I read George H. Hallett's article on proportional representation. He speaks of P.R.'s great record. Mr. F. A. Hermans in his book *Tyrants' War and the People's Peace* states that P.R. more than any other thing was responsible for Hitler's rise to power. So does Carl Friedrich in his book *Constitutional Government and Democracy*. In other words, the war probably would never have started if it had not been for P.R. A hell of a record!

WILLIAM CROCKER.
Box 1883
Prescott, Arizona.

Editor's note: We appreciate the frankness with which Mr. Crocker has expressed his opinion. It is a common one. We promised, however, not to steal Mr. Hallett's thunder. He and Mr. Woodward are returning in the May issue to answer this charge in their concluding discussion.

THE SOUTH

To the Editor:

Congratulations on "Look Homeward, Liberals" by Ed Ritter. The cause of the South needs more publicity of this kind and less of the *Gone with the Wind—Tobacco Road* variety.

As a Northern liberal, capable of whatever little humility Northern-

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ers possess, Mr. Ritter advises me to sit at home, or perhaps in Washington, and see to it that the South gets a fairer distribution of federal funds or that more industry comes to the South. But here the Northern liberal is stopped cold, by the South. The only way to remedy the capital poverty, the poor schools, poor medical services, poor housing of the South is by federal funds. The Southerner has long bemoaned the fact that he is the forgotten man when it comes to federal disbursements. Yet, the South will get no political favors until it gets rid of the one-party system. No politicians have to bid for the Southern vote. It is always Democratic. What Southerner will ever vote for a Republican? It seems to me that the South is more interested in its traditions than in improving conditions in the South.

Mr. Ritter says that the race problem is fundamentally an economic one, that if industry comes to the South, the racial problem will disappear. Yet, in the most highly industrialized states in the North, there is more bitter feeling against the Negro than in the South. It exists in boom periods when there are jobs for everyone and amongst people who need never fear economic insecurity. This would seem to prove that the race problem, or rather any anti-minority problem, is fundamentally psychological. The Negro, Japanese, Jew, Catholic, Italian, French-Canadian, or any other minority, is just a convenient scapegoat upon which to vent our frustrations. It's simpler than facing our real problems and finding a solution. Until we recognize this fact, we won't get far with economics.

SYDNEY BIGELOW.
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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EDITOR

Greece

What is America's mission? Should we back Britain's traditional policy or make fundamental changes?

By asking the United States to take over its commitments in Greece, the British government has caused a political Pearl Harbor.

Greece is the beginning of a turning point in history. If the United States takes over, it will find that other areas soon will be shunted to it.

If Britain cannot afford the expenditure of a few million dollars to keep Greece outside the Russian "iron curtain"—and that is the issue—how can it put forth the $475,500,000 required to match an equal amount from the United States to keep the Anglo-American zone of Germany alive under the Hoover plan?

It follows that inability in Greece merely heralds inability in Germany. Furthermore, since Greece is found too expensive to maintain, for how long can Britain continue to put forth the required expenditure of men and money in Palestine? This very question was asked in Commons by former Prime Minister Churchill:

"How long do you think this state of squalid warfare, with all its bloodshed at the cost of £40,000,000 ($160,000,000) and occupying 100,000 Englishmen away from our other military forces, will go on?"

Arthur Creech Jones, the colonial secretary, to whom the query was directed, had no answer. Neither has the British government. Before long, Palestine, too, may be orphaned to the United States, given the known inadequacy of the United Nations, as now constituted, to handle it.

Never before in its history has this nation been faced with a more fateful decision. The United States, confident of its position as a world power since the war, is now confronted with the choice of becoming one in fact and not just in potentiality or fancy. In the opinion of many, the United States will either assume these unsolicited burdens or only one power will rule the world. It will not be the United States. It will be the Soviet Union, ever ready to fill political vacuums.

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How far is the United States willing to go in assuming burdens relinquished by Britain in order to prevent the spread of Russian influence?

Are the American people prepared to support global commitments on such a scale?

Are the American people ready to pay the bill for such a program?

Is the American public willing to face the consequences of allowing Russia to step into controlling positions in these areas?

This may be America's hour of destiny. The political seed sown by the war is ripening. We will either gather the harvest for freedom and the dignity of man or historians may look back upon this period as the beginning of the decline of another civilization.

—*The Cleveland Plain Dealer*

PITFALLS IN GREECE

Circumstances are forcing Great Britain to lay down the troublesome problem of Greece and the prospect is that the United States will be required to take over. This is a disgraceful responsibility.

But it is difficult to see how the United States can refuse to accept the responsibility because the alternative is even more disagreeable. Greece today is a critical meeting point of East and West. If the West withdraws, the inevitable result will be to create a vacuum into which the tide of Communism will flow. Once started, the tide may not stop at the borders of Greece.

Before assuming this burden, the United States should recognize, and take steps to avoid, two serious pitfalls into which Britain has stumbled.

First is the indefensible British policy of supporting the blackest reactionaries on the Greek political scene. Instead of seeking out and supporting the moderates and democratic leftists, who unquestionably reflected the sentiment of the majority of the people in Greece at war's end, Britain deliberately selected and supported extreme rightists. The unhappy result is all too apparent. Greece has been presented with the miserable choice of accepting either extreme reactionaries of the right or extreme radicals of the left—that is, Communists.

If the United States takes over, its political aim should be to revive and support the middle parties. A democratic Socialist

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set-up has some chance of competing with Communism in political favor—something which the British-supported reactionary set-up never can do.

Instead of taking over Greece alone and unassisted, the United States might better invite other nations to share the responsibility. If troops are needed for policing, the troops should be contributed from several nations. If money is needed for rehabilitation, the money should be contributed by several nations.

—*Providence Evening Bulletin*

ISN'T IT GREAT TO WIN A WAR!

President Truman recently held an exceedingly hush-hush conference with Secretary of State Marshall and a number of the biggest shots in Congress.

It turned out soon afterward that the subject of discussion had been Greece, now staggering along under King George II and trying to beat a lot of Communist guerrillas back on its Albanian, Yugoslav and Bulgarian borders.

What Truman told his conference of bigwigs was that Britain can no longer carry this Greek load.

The Attlee-Bevin government of Britain has notified our Government to that effect. It has gone on to ask us to take over the financial burden in Greece—in which event it may be able to keep its reduced British garrisons in Greece for a while longer

Mr. Truman has appealed to Congressional leaders for the money to grant the British request. How much money that will be, we don't know; but Britain is understood to have spent or loaned $240,000,000 in Greece in the last year.

If we don't take over a big piece of Britain's Greek load, the chances are that Greece will fall into the hands of the Communists. That would throw the Mediterranean door wide open to Russia, and Britain's fat in that part of the world would be strictly in the fire.

What we are interested in finding out is how much farther all this stuff goes.

How many more burdens of victory are going to be pushed off on the United States? Already, as a straw in the wind, there are whispers that another big loan to Britain will be necessary if Britain is to survive.

What we would also like to know is how much of this stuff the voters of the United States will stand for before they call a halt and go stampeding back to pre-war isolationism-plus.

—*Washington Times-Herald*

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BANKRUPTCY OF A POLICY

Britain's request that America take over some of her commitments in Greece is more than a confession of inability to carry out a policy. It is a petition in bankruptcy for the policy itself. The United States must have a clear idea of its own objectives before we assume a burden which the British are no longer able to carry.

Is it our obligation to back with dollars a British military occupation designed to saddle the Greek people with a reactionary government they don't want? Does our world position demand the dispatch of armed forces and economic ambassadors in all directions to serve the single negative aim of "stopping Russia" by any means?

Americans have often been accused of impractical idealism, but their hard realism tells them that today nothing is so dismally impractical as the ancient dogmas of power politics and armed truce. The nineteenth century *pax Brittanica*, so often cited as a model, ran into the dead end of two world wars within a generation. How can we expect anything better from a *pax Americana* to be policed by us as the heir and successor to the British Empire? Every balance of power ends in imbalance. Every armed truce ends in war. The American responsibility for peace demands a more creative idea than the sterile politics of power and militarism.

The people once thought they had hold of such an idea. They conceived our responsibility to be, not the manning of strategic bastions around the world, but the liberation of peoples from dominion by anybody. Economic aid for such people as the Greeks, yes—but it was to be aid for the purpose of enabling them to live their own lives peacefully under governments of their own choosing, not aid for the purpose of "stopping Russia" by imposing a bondage of our own.

That there would be conflicts of interest among the great powers everybody knew; but the creative idea to solve them was to be compromise and conciliation, collective rather than militaristic security. It was evident in advance that empires would crumble and power relationships would change; but the American people never considered it their mission to assume imperial functions which others could no longer sustain. Rather our mission was and still is to help make the United Nations the heir of dying empires, as trustee for the subjugated peoples.

—*The Chicago Sun*

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GRECIAN URN

Our country already has in Paul Porter a skilled representative on the ground studying the best way of shoring up the economy of Greece. It also is authoritatively represented on the Balkan committee of the United Nations which is reporting on border disorders. But, till these missions have made known their recommendations, the United States is in no position to do or sponsor the wise thing in Greece.

Ideally the British troops in Greece should be acting under instructions from the United Nations. But the military staff committee of the United Nations, which is a permanent group, is still working over the terms of its own organization. It is in no position as yet to make recommendations of action. Pending United Nations protection, the Balkan outposts should have been manned by us and the British acting together, as we are manning the Trieste area. In this respect we are paying the price of dividing responsibility with a weak partner.

It is fortunate that the threat to peace in Greece finds a United Nations commission on the frontier. The commission is under an American chairman, Mr. Mark Ethridge. All the time the mission has been on the spot, there has been quiet. But everybody knows that the silence is ominous, that as soon as the committee packs up and comes home, the border will again be ablaze. The Balkan satellites of the Soviet Union are all ready for action back of a screen of Greeks who have been trained in Yugoslavia. Inside Greece there are all the makings of a revolution led by these Sovietized malcontents. It would not be civil war in a domestic sense. It would be a made-in-Moscow coup intended to bring Soviet power into the Aegean. Such an irruption of Sovietism around the Turkish flank would cut clean through the Mediterranean nexus of the Middle East with the West. The occasion for such a historical shift in the world balance would be a matter of concern for the United Nations. It is of supreme importance, therefore, that *the Balkan committee shall leave on the spot a standing commission with authority to look after the frontier pending the examination of the Balkan committee's report to the Security Council.*

—The Washington Post

A young mountaineer had been sentenced by the court for breach of the peace. He had been doing some feuding with a knife.

After the trial, his father stood with a group of his cronies on the courthouse lawn. "I swear, I don't know whar that boy gits all his meanness," he said. "Now, you take me—I never stuck a knife *deep* in nobody."

—Industrial News Review

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COUNTRY COMMENT

WHEN an English writer comes to the impressive moment of putting his ame and the date to the preface of his just-completed book, he likes to add characteristic flourish of place names. For instance: The Briary, Ivy- norpe, Little Kittens, Hants.

Those names are not to be taken as an invitation to call. They are not series of doors opening to the reader. Rather they are hedges, one within nother, of box or yew (the other most possibly a hedgerow of oak) behind vhich our Englishman withdrew to write his book. Now that the book is inished, he comes forth for a stroll, carefully closing the garden gate behind iim. As he lingers by his favorite rosebush or bends over his border of ierbs, it suddenly comes home to him that the most significant, the most nemorable thing about his book is that it was written here, in this his own particular green spot of England. Back in his study he sets down the be- oved words opposite the date.

His own name he is content to abbreviate to A. B. Smith or C. D. Jones. (In America he would be nothing short of Albert Beveridge Smith or Clar- ence Diocletian Jones.) The Englishman does not advertise himself; the fewest letters that will identify him suffice. Sometimes as a gesture of understatement, he omits the Smith or the Jones and becomes merely A.B. or C.D. It would be easy for him to omit his name altogether and be ab- sorbed into The Briary, Ivythorpe, Little Kittens, Hants.

Far as I am from England geographically, historically and tempera- mentally, I nevertheless feel the persuasiveness of the long green address. I know how the mention of a few place names, whether they refer to private or to public property and whether they are hedges to keep people out or roads to bring them near—I say, I know how the mention of a few names can be both an invocation to the tutelary deities of the place and an assertion of your right to be there yourself. Indeed, I too could flourish a few names.

"Robert Francis, Esq.," the address would begin. Then "Fort Juniper," my half-acre and its 20-by-22-foot house. Then "Market Hill Road," a name so venerable that nobody living knows why the road was called that or what or where the market was. For pure flourish "Hampshire County" would follow the "Amherst." Finally "Massachusetts" unabbreviated.

That is my address, or would be if I didn't have a better one. One that can't be confused, misunderstood, forgotten, mislaid or lost.

ROBT. FRANCIS,
Amherst, Mass.

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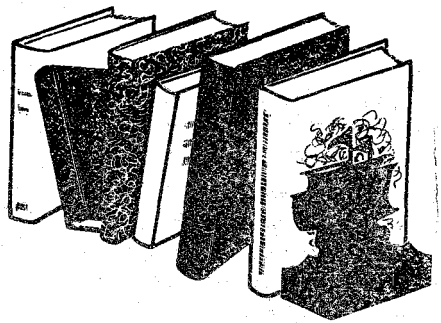
BOOKS



THE WORLD AND THE NEGRO

As an aid in understanding the problem of the Negro in America, there is much of interest in *Slave and Citizen,* The Negro in the Americas, by Frank Tannenbaum (Knopf, $2.00). We know much or little of present conditions, according to our sympathies or antipathies. In this little volume, the emphasis is on the history of the topic. Tannenbaum is, of course, taking an objective view of the Negro's situation when he writes: "Looked at from the Negro's point of view, it (American colonization) has been a good adventure." He is referring to the end result of the long migration from Africa to freedom.

In the New World the Negro has accommodated himself to conditions, but the New World has not reciprocated. By showing the variation in the treatment of Negroes in North America and in the Latin countries, the author makes it clear that the latter have made better adjustments, probably because of their difference in attitude. Among Latin countries slavery was a misfortune to which anyone, regardless of color, might be subject; hence when a Negro attained freedom, there were few bars to economic and social equality. Here in America, naturally following British policies, sentiment was opposed to anything but outright slavery and debasement. The Catholic Church, powerful in Latin countries, considered the Negroes as human beings, while in English-speaking lands the Protestant powers favored the proprietors. The difference in the background accounts for the wider acceptance of the Negro socially in South America. Here, where restraints were greatest, the problem had its root in economics. The eventual result had to be violent, as it was in the Civil War, and came just when the slave states believed the arrangement was perfect and permanent.

As Tannenbaum points out, however, today's freedom is not the solution. When the day comes that a Negro is simply "a judge" or "a preacher," there will be no problem. In the past century, despite laws, churches and white opposition, the process of integration of the slavery system continued until today it is banned legally, but its effects are

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apparent. Tannenbaum believes coming of the day of real free- is inexorable, even if it takes a time arriving.

How do Negroes live in other s of the world? Dr. Wulf hs, in a fascinating narrative, the story of an African medi- man in *Black Anger,* (Little, wn, $3.00). Dr. Sachs is a cit- of the Union of South Africa, M.D., and a psychoanalyst. After oming acquainted with John, black medicine man, he intended use him as a subject for psycho- lytical study. In a minor sense succeeded, but the chief interest in the life story of John, his ple, their way of life under the nination of the whites. Free y are, so long as they do not se their ambitions above the color e; the line of demarcation is as inite, if not more marked, than our own Mississippi. Primitive toms, legends, witchcraft, are all portant. John's medicine-making s more than a means of liveli- od; it was an internal clamoring power and prestige, to raise him d advance his people.

A link to this country is John's scovery of a Bantu—a Negro—in photograph of white men. It is ul Robeson. Possibly that started s dream of a better day somehow und in with America, although it ust be confessed that to the reader obeson doesn't appear to be of the me race, so alien are the ways and oughts of the characters. That itself delineates the cleavage be- een the Africans and our own vilization. Sachs is keenly sym- thetic; he does not revile the white man for the inadequacy of his vision, but he does describe the backward conditions under which the Negroes live, and thus makes the book sincere propaganda for better understanding of the black man and his troubles.

W. E. Burghardt-DuBois attacks the race problem in his usual blunt, rather militant manner. *The World and Africa,* (Viking, $3.00), "an inquiry into the part which Africa has played in world history," is his interpretation of events either unrecorded or subject to various conclusions. Some of the fault lies at the doors of historians who in his opinion have purposely suppressed facts which would give credit to the Negro for accomplishments and culture.

Examining the history of Africa from early times, his findings are partly what is well known about the political and economic excuses made through the ages for the treatment of the African. Beyond this, however, he has decided views on Biblical history. He concludes from his study that the Egyptians were *negroid, and that in Ethiopia* "the sunrise of human culture took place, spreading down the Nile Valley." His premises and deductions are definitely interesting, even if unorthodox. Some of the fault he puts on "men who otherwise ranked as leading scientists." His meaning is that much of this testimony has willfully been suppressed in order to keep the Negro people subjugated.

The African slave trade of the eighteenth century, based on capitalistic needs for cheap labor, is the basis for continued belittlement of

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the Negro. For that purpose writers ignored the culture of the black people, although DuBois advances arguments for the opinion that it was of high calibre while European culture was still in a formative stage.

His plea is naturally for acceptance of the Negro as a social a economic equal, and that is the p pose of the book. In elucidat that premise he offers some startl and decidedly interesting conce of political and religious devel ments of centuries ago.

BRIEFER COMMENT

BIOGRAPHY

An American Dynasty, by John Tebbel, (Doubleday, $3.00), is above all a newspaperman's book, although of general interest. It is an appraisal of the McCormick family, the Medills and the Pattersons, starting with Joseph Medill's editorship of the Chicago *Tribune* in 1855. The earlier lineage of the McCormicks, while traced, is of lesser importance. Tebbel relates the ruthlessness of the paper's editorial policy in an exceptionally lively story. To him the Medill tradition was the development of a state of mind in American readers. Here the newspaper's many battles against competitors, individuals and even the government are related briskly, and apparently without rancor or malice. One's conclusion is that Tebbel does not consider the family a credit to pure journalism.

The life story of a tract writer, poet and best selling playwright of a hundred years ago, *Hannah More and Her Circle,* by May Alden Hopkins, (Longmans, $3.50), excellently pictures literary and social England of that period. It was the time of David Garrick, who was a close friend of Hannah More, and of Dr. Johnson. While Hannah More's plays were accounted s cesses, her biggest influence w through original religious and mo tracts.

Thurlow Weed, Wizard of t Lobby, by Glyndon G. Van Deus (Little, Brown, $4.00), is the sto of the rise of the political boss New York State a century ago, a probably the dominant figure in r tional politics as well. This bio raphy reflects a great deal of t historical conflicts of the time, b tween parties and individuals. anything, Weed gets better th the benefit of doubts; to many pe ple, his name symbolizes the wor in politics, but Van Deusen, whi admitting his unsavory deeds, has tendency to gloss them over as ty ical of the era.

Less biographical than a comme tary on Communism, *Alexandr Kollontay,* Ambassadress from Ru sia, (Longmans, $3.50), is a tribut by Isabel de Palencia to her Rsssia friend. Madame Kollontay, an earl follower of Lenin, ended her caree as ambassadress to Sweden only year ago. The work is marred b too earnest emphasis on Marxia thoughts and principles, and to fleeting attention to personality an detail.

The fabulous story of the Patin

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nines in Bolivia is well told in *Moonlight on Snow,* by John vlett, (McBride, $3.50). Simon no, the builder of the empire, his first tin claim in a desperate rt to save his meagre life-savings 250. The development of the stry and Patino's rise to wealth power, make an almost incred- biography, comparable only h those of some of our own rug- individualists of the nineteenth ury. Occasionally some mention the Bolivian Croesus creeps into spapers; here is the whole stir- story.

TION

Veb of Lucifer, by Maurice nuel, (Knopf, $3.00), is a his- ical novel of the once-in-a-thou- d type. It concerns the Italy of fifteenth century, when Cesare rgia was bringing that country er one leadership—his own, and his own ends. The story pro- sses with a peasant youth for its o, a decent, average human be- , deceived like all average people, finally given the light. It is a lliant picture of the times, hon- ly told and a top-flight piece of ion.

There is a division of opinion e on *The Walls of Jericho,* by ul I. Wellman, (Lippincott, .00). Two readers attempted it d nominated it as trash. The rd reader reports it decidedly dinary fare. It concerns small ioned people in a small midwest wn, trite situations, all whipped gether to make a dish for undis- iminating appetites. So it's ho! r the best seller list.

With a novel twist, *The Fiesta at Anderson's House,* by Scott Graham Williamson (Holt, $2.75), is a realistic portrayal of whites and Porto Ricans in San Juan. Repul- sively human in spots, it maintains a compelling interest as Williamson sends his central figure from friend to acquaintance, inviting all to the forthcoming fiesta. That is the cli- max, accompanied by a hurricane which matches the scene and char- acters in violence. Not for delicate nerves, but a powerful story.

Andromeda, by Jacland Marmur, (Holt, $2.75), is a tramp steamer out of Singapore, with her crew and a few passengers. It is a breezy sea tale, with love interest, a Japanese submarine, excellent characteriza- tion and tense moments, all com- bined to make a smoothly developed, well written yarn.

A dainty, slightly fantastic little story is *Mr. Whittle and the Morn- ing Star,* by Robert Nathan, (Knopf, $2.00). It is the chronicle of a college professor and his in- voluntary misunderstanding with his wife, his talks with God, and a couple of situations that temporarily upset the even ways of his life. Pleasant reading, with a touch of symbolism.

Rather a disagreeable story, and still one that holds the attention, is James M. Cain's *The Butterfly,* (Knopf, $2.00). It tells the troubles of Jess Tyler, a farmer in a rural West Virginia district, bizarre do- mestic woes, love, murder and sud- den death. Cain can fascinate his readers, and he does in this newest of his novels. For some reason he prefaces his book with a sharp at-

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tack on Eastern book critics and an explanation of why he was impelled to use incest for the motivating theme. The incest angle being chimerical, his story needs no such apology. In brief, it is typically Cain—heady and strong.

Children of Vienna, by Robert Neumann, (Dutton, $2.75), is one of the things we don't like to read because we don't like the facts of misery and horror brought close. The children are the riffraff youth of a war ruined city, boys and girls, inured to life's worst angles. This is what war does to the younger generation, and it is tragic.

MISCELLANEOUS

A courageous examination of present day morality, in the larger sense, is made by Henry C. Link in *The Rediscovery of Morals,* (Dutton, $2.50). Dr. Link considers the reasons for race prejudice, particularly here in America, blaming a lack of strong religious conviction, and pointing out that in many cases the causes lie in economic or social roots. Regardless of religious beliefs, there is a wealth of suggestion worthy of consideration by intelligent people.

Lecomte du Nouy writes to so what the same purpose in *Hun Destiny.* (Longmans, $3.50). Nouy is a scientist and devote considerable part of his book to biological and materialistic side man, in order to prove that th must be something more—the s itual, if you like—for man's *rai d'etre.* His is a scientific appro to the evolution of man, culminat in the conclusion that the fun mental tenets of Christian moral are the essential needs of peop today.

Those who enjoy old time and humor will find smiles in *Nat American Humor,* edited by Jan R. Aswel, (Harper's, $3.75). T compilation covers samples fr Benjamin Franklin, Mark Twa Artemas Ward and others, ma lesser known.

Modern Woman: The Lost Se by Ferdinand Lundberg and Ma nia F. Farnham, M.D., (Harper $3.50), is an up-to-date clinical d cussion of woman — and men - largely from the Freudian angl Lundberg is a writer and lecture and Dr. Farnham supplies the me ical information from her experien and study of psychiatric cases.

A wealthy man was showing an acquaintance about his tremendous estate.

"Beautiful lawn," murmured the visitor.

"Ought to be," his host said. "Had the whole thing brought here as sod at $1 a square foot."

"And those trees!" the visitor exclaimed. "I've never seen more perfect specimens!"

"Had 'em transplanted," his host confided. "Cost me $2000 each."

"Ah," the visitor sighed, "what God could have done if He'd had all your money!"

—*Landaster Unionist*

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Cleopatra:

When Cleopatra went to bed, she lay
With thoughts as close as they were far away.

When Cleopatra rose from bed, her lids
Were wise and heavy as the pyramids.

When Cleopatra died, she took to breast
A kiss so poignant that it gave her rest.

—*WITTER BYNNER.*

How They Go On:

Dorothy, Deborah, how they go on
Toward their goal, oblivion,
Each of them taking it in stride,
Dorothy spinster, Deborah bride!
Dorothy watches, Dorothy waits,
Deborah never hesitates:
Deborah yes, Dorothy no,
And each of them says, "I told you so."

—*WITTER BYNNER.*

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On a Theme by Thoreau

By Robert Francis

Place: Anne and Ralph's living room.
Time: The present, after dinner.
People: Anne and Ralph, Carol, Blake.

CAROL: I like your little antique chair, Anne. It's so beautifully plain.

ANNE: I got to thinking about that chair at a concert the other evening. I wish modern music were a little more like that chair. I mean, had something of the same clear simple lines.

CAROL: But why should music be like a chair? A chair is something to sit in. The more functional, the better. An elaborate chair is just a bother. The time you spend dusting it you'd rather spend doing something interesting—like listening to music. If music were as simple as that chair, you wouldn't want to listen very long. It would be too obvious.

RALPH: Anne is really in love with the simple life, Carol, but she doesn't quite dare to own up to it.

CAROL: Why not?

RALPH: She'd be frowned on.

ANNE: I'd be called an escapist.

BLAKE: That bugaboo word? Don't you know that everybody is an escapist 24 hours a day? You can't make a move, you can't go from A to B without escaping from A. Escape is the other side of adventure.

CAROL: When *we* go camping, it's adventure; when people we don't like go camping, it's escape.

ANNE: But, Carol, is the beauty of simple things merely their dustability? Isn't simplicity—no, let's call it clarity—isn't clarity beautiful in itself and for itself? Is Mozart obvious?

CAROL: If composers today tried to write like Mozart, if they were satisfied never to go beyond his eighteenth century harmonies, they *would* be obvious.

BLAKE: What are we talking about: clarity or simplicity? I'd call a Brahms symphony clear, but far from simple. Even Mozart—take the last movement of his "Jupiter"—is not exactly simple either.

ANNE: That's just it. You feel that Brahms and Mozart and Beethoven have mastered life with all its complexities, at least in their music, and that they give us life clarified and whole. Listening, you share in their exhilaration of mastery. Present-day composers sound as if

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they had not mastered life but had been mastered by it. I mean spiritually. They reflect our confusion.

CAROL: And in so doing, aren't they as true to our age as Brahms was to his?

RALPH: Trouble with Anne is she not only loves simplicity, she believes it's obtainable in this complicated age. Not right here in this house, perhaps, but somewhere not very far away over the hills.

ANNE: Ralph loves to make fun of me. Really, I'd rather be called an escapist than be made ridiculous.

RALPH: I keep telling her that the whole trend today is toward the complex, and *has* been ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution.

BLAKE: Why don't you say, ever since the amoeba, cruising about in the warm sea, decided to divide and become two?

CAROL: But don't you think that life is actually getting easier and simpler in some respects, Ralph? And that's not wishful thinking. I rather enjoy living in this mad age. I like complicated things. As a child I loved puzzles more than anything else, which is the reason perhaps why I like puzzling poems and difficult music now. Seems to me such things ought to be hard, whereas things that have to do with the mechanics of living ought to be easy. Take clothing, for instance. Take this dress I'm wearing. Fancy my grandmother 50 years ago going out for the evening in anything as plain and simple as this. And don't forget, with all her tucks and puffs and ruffles there went a correspondingly elaborate etiquette.

RALPH: Dress for dress, there has been a gain in simplicity. But women still make as much fuss over their clothes as ever. Same thing is true of meal-getting. You can buy good soup in a tin can at the corner grocery. So the good wife goes out and stocks up on 50 varieties. And since there are 50 brands for each variety, she subscribes to a marketing service to advise her which to buy. Or take electricity. Nobody quarrels with electric lights. We have electric egg-beaters, electric shoe-polishers, electric nail-files. Science no sooner gives us an easier way of doing something than we turn about and make it ten times more complicated than it was before. Why? Just the old Adam in us, or rather, the old Eve.

CAROL: I suppose we women are to blame for that contemporary monster of complexity—the automobile?

RALPH: When you come right down to it, a horse is more complicated than an automobile.

ANNE: Simplicity is such a complicated thing to talk about.

BLAKE: Haven't we got to distinguish between consumer and producer? Electric lights and canned soup and ready-made dresses make life simpler for the consumer, provided she lets them stay simple; but the production of those simple conveniences brings endless complications: factories, cities, labor unions and strikes, government regulations and

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God knows what. You can get your dress and your can of soup easily if you want to, but in supplying you with the dress and the soup society has grown infinitely complex, *and that is the society you have to live in.*

RALPH: Unless you run away and try to lead the simple life.

BLAKE: You don't have to run away. Millions of people lead the simple life right in our big cities. They have a routine job. For recreation they sit at the movies, or sit at home and turn a dial. They slip through our intricate civilization like wet minnows through the fingers. They are parts of a complexity they don't understand and don't worry about, except when they think they may lose their jobs.

ANNE: Can't one simplify and be intelligent at the same time? Like Thoreau? He was no wet minnow. He went to Walden to face life, not to get away from it. He knew everything that was going on around him. His simplifying was only a means to an end, and the end was not a simple life but a full one. He wanted to get clear what should be simple and what should not. Unless we can do something like that today, I mean, make simpler what can and should be made simpler, we won't find time and energy for trying to understand and control the things that can't be made simple.

BLAKE: You mean all the specializations—science, medicine, economics, international law, and so forth?

CAROL: I certainly agree with Anne about keeping simple things simple, such as chairs. But it doesn't seem to me anything to worry about. When a thing gets too complicated, people set about simplifying it; and when it gets too simple, they start making it more complex. The two tendencies are going on all the time in countless ways.

ANNE: You don't think there is danger of our civilization breaking apart or bogging down from sheer complexity, so that people begin to want a "strong man" to step in and inject a little fascist order into society?

RALPH: Why should that happen? These specializations that you seem to dread are all orderly things, like the card-catalogue of a big library. You may not know the ABC's of a certain field, but you can easily find out where to go to find out. There are reference books to reference books.

BLAKE: And before long there will be reference books to reference books to reference books.

ANNE: Are there any reference books for statesmen on how to make wise decisions, Ralph?

RALPH: Lord, the presses are turning them out every week. Don't get the idea that complexity always brings confusion, or even more complexity. If physicists are getting more and more unintelligible to statesmen say, physicists of one country understand the physicists of other countries perfectly. Standardizations like the metric system are bringing order where once there was confusion.

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CAROL: I know how you feel, Anne. God knows the world is in danger of breaking apart or bogging down or something. But I don't think it is because of complexity. Rather it's because nations are moving in conflicting and irreconcilable directions.

ANNE: Maybe if our leaders lived in less of a rush and had time to think things through, they would solve a few conflicts. But I'm not thinking so much of politics and economics and history as I am of what one obscure person can do with her life today.

BLAKE: What she does with her life is largely determined by politics and economics and history, isn't it?

ANNE: Largely but not wholly. We have a margin of freedom, and that's what counts. We agree that the mechanics of living should and can be simpler. We also agree that at the other extreme are things that never can be simple. But between canned soup on one hand and atomic energy on the other, lie most of the things that concern us most, the things we live in. And it's there we disagree.

CAROL: For instance, Anne?

ANNE: Why, the way we look and think about things all day long. Religion and art and books and music. You want your music difficult; I want mine clear and simple.

RALPH: What were you saying about Brahms?

ANNE: Well, clear then, if not simple. Carol wants music to mirror the spiritual perplexities of our age. I want music to clear away some of the spiritual perplexities of our age. And the more perplexities there are, the more I want clarification.

CAROL: I guess I have more of the old Eve in me than you do, Anne, to use Ralph's unflattering phrase. But don't make me out worse than I am. I don't want to live in a labyrinth. I want to solve at least a few of the puzzles. Otherwise they irritate me. I don't agree, though, that modern music and art are all a puzzle, or that they are necessarily more difficult than art of the past. Artists today do more as they please. They don't stand in awe of rules. Many of them get more play and relaxation into their work and out of their work. If their art seems more difficult to understand, maybe it is because we are not trying to understand it in the way they intend.

BLAKE: I have no quarrel with things inherently puzzling. But I am irritated by any writer or artist who tries to be puzzling. And I don't care how great his name. All right, I say, go and play by yourself if you want to. Things are difficult enough as they are without anybody needing to go out of his way to make them more so. Take the simplest thing you can think of—a crumb of soil, a single plant cell, one short word—and try to understand and explain it in the clearest terms, and you will have a staggering job on your hands. People who *try* to be difficult are naive: they imagine that simple things are simple.

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CAROL: Perhaps they are not naive themselves, but want to wake up the people who are.

ANNE: The greatest men have been simplifiers, haven't they? The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man about sums up the teaching of Jesus. Contrast that with the intricacies of Hebrew law of the time. The same is true of Buddha and Lao-tzu and Mohammed. I believe religion is trying to become simpler today, if people would let it.

BLAKE: I'd say that religion is simplest when it is new and vital and at blood temperature, and again at the opposite extreme when it has cooled down and congealed. It's easy for religion to be simple when there isn't much left of it. It's at the half-warm half-cool temperature in between that the creeds get elaborated and the learned theologies written.

RALPH: What Jesus and Buddha did for religion—their discovery of great laws and daring generalizations—scientists like Newton and Einstein have done for science. But we don't call it simplification. The Relativity Theory is not what you would call simple.

ANNE: Simple is not the right word. I see that now. It's too limited a word. If we could find the right word, the right words . . . Things haven't changed fundamentally, it seems to me. The problem has always been to subdue a little chaos, to make an orderly and meaningful world of one's own, whether from the chaos of primeval forests, or the chaos of man-made cities and department stores and reference books, or the chaos of clashing ideas. Not that these things are really chaos, for they are all expressions of law. But until each of us does something with his environment, it might just as well be chaos to us. Nobody wholly succeeds. Our little worlds are half-made at best. Even when a great mind creates a world for others as well as himself to live in. Every work of art, I suppose, is much a world or a phase of such a world. If it seems chaotic to me, it must be only that it doesn't fit into my world. To make a world of one's own—

CAROL: I'm still looking at your little chair, Anne. Standing there against the white wall, it somehow creates a world of its own. A world that radiates from it and includes the whole room. What you have just been saying, this beautiful room of yours says, too.

If you growl all day, it's only natural you feel dog-tired at night.
—*New World News*

* * *

The elevators in the Radio Tokyo building were run by tiny Japanese girls who greeted each passenger with several polite bows and some Japanese greetings. The Americans didn't know exactly what the girls were saying so they taught them some Americanese. Now as the girls bob up and down they whisper gently: "Oh, my aching back."

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

ANY account of recent events in New York, to which so many performances elsewhere in the United States and even Canada are merely tributary, becomes a chronicle of short-run productions that indicate experimentation and salutary bustle rather than failure. Playgoers found themselves hopping from production to production in restless expectation of stimulation by the oldest of the communal arts. Actors and producers were excitedly engaged in large-scale and small-scale efforts to create theatre under all sorts of circumstances. The trend is likely to continue because a great deal of energy previously absorbed by the war is seeking outlets. Until economic distress dampens the spirit, we shall continue to tap the theatre's possibilities both as spectators and makers of theatre.

So it happens that dramatic schools are filled to the brim with young hopefuls, that library basements teem with Equity-Library revivals of classics, that the Dramatic Workshop of the New School maintains an amateur repertory system in mid-town Manhattan. The American Negro Theatre up in Harlem embarks upon another year that might yield another *Anna Lucasta*. On nearby Morningside Heights, Columbia University produces two exceptional short operas by Menotti, and Associated Playwrights, a group of Theatre Guild protégés, tries out its members' plays in the lower East Side's Grand Street Neighborhood Playhouse. There is even a movement in the making to create an institutional theatre in Brooklyn. An "Experimental Theatre" financed by the long dormant National Theatre Academy, starts a series of productions at the Princess Theatre, once the house of *Pins and Needles*. Each play is sponsored by professional producers—the Theatre Guild, Theatre Incorporated and José Ferrer. The American Repertory Theatre, subsidized to the tune of $300,000, runs into financial difficulties, but lays plans for a tour through the East. Meanwhile it puts on a revival of the late Sidney Howard's *Yellowjack* for a month's run at its Columbus Circle Theatre. Simultaneously, hardly more than an ave-

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nue's length away, the Century Theatre plays host to David Wolfit's English repertory company which has descended upon Manhattan after a Canadian tour, and gives New Yorkers more Elizabethan drama in two weeks than they normally get in two years.

As this report is being typed, John Gielgud is descending upon us with *The Importance of Being Earnest,* marking a second British invasion. George Kelly revives his Pulitzer Prize drama, *Craig's Wife,* so that, with *The Fatal Weakness* (just departing for a road tour), America's mordant satirist emerges from a long retirement, which was broken only two seasons ago when he gave us *The Deep Mrs. Sykes.* Bobby Clark, America's most engaging clown, revives Victor Herbert's *Sweethearts* and performs cartwheels with it, while his inimitable peer Bert Lahr, injects adrenalin into the old play *Burlesque.* Finally, to come to the best news of all, two musical comedy librettists, E. Y. Harburg and Fred Saidy, taking their cue from James Stephens's imperishable *Crock of Gold,* provide the season's most delightful musical comedy, *Finian's Rainbow.* Elmer Rice, collaborating with Kurt Weill, turns his Pulitzer Prize play, *Street Scene,* into a notable American folk opera.

The ultimate question is, of course, whether all this activity provides anything that may be stored up in the memory as gratifying experience, sound warning or instruction. The rest of this report will be a random commentary in an effort to answer this question.

Finian's Rainbow and *Street Scene* should serve to remind us of the two most fruitful approaches to musical drama—fantasy and folk drama. *Finian's Rainbow* employs both; the Southern background and the fantasy about the magic crock are successfully fused. The background is not original, but the fantasy is. Moreover, it is employed not for sentimental purposes but for satire, and in this respect the play points to new possibilities in social drama. Its assault on racial prejudice, reactionary politics and economic exploitation is highly pertinent, but it would be humdrum except for the fanciful treatment whereby, for instance, a Southern "white-supremacy" senator is transformed into a Negro. The authors could also have included a flat little sermon on such matters as the futility of the gold standard, the function of credit in capitalist society, and the social possibilities of atomic energy if it is acquired by the nation instead of by business interests and is dispensed to all the people for their benefit rather than for profit. Fantasy and musical treatment transform this lesson in economics into a lifting experience. In all this there is great loveliness, thanks not only to the script and Burton Lane's score but to Michael Kidd's choreography, wonderfully executed by wide-eyed Anita Alvarez, to the singing of Ella Logan, and to the acting of Albert Sharpe and David Wayne. Nevertheless, *Finian's Rainbow* can also be studied as a lesson in what more could be accomplished if the flagrant expensiveness of musical comedy production did not en-

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force compromises with popular bad taste. This is apparent in lapses of taste in the classic chamber-pot tradition, in efforts to be funny at any price, in the failure to hew to the line of folk background and folk spirit, and in the haphazard mixture of the idiom of fantasy and the idiom of Broadway smartness. If fantasy and folk matter had been properly integrated, without box-office considerations, *Finian's Rainbow* would have been a masterpiece instead of simply a very entertaining piece of theatre. Thus corruption sets in and mars the promise of memorable art in our time.

Street Scene exhibits the reverse of this situation. It *is* memorable, or, to be precise, it is throughout honorable. It is well integrated, makes no concessions to the lower levels of public taste, respects the humanity of its characters and the reality of its environment, and clings resolutely to the altitudes of tragedy. It is our first truly urban folk drama. I don't know any previous effort to create musical folk drama out of anything but rustic material, and it is high time we realized that folk elements are not confined to the countryside. *Street Scene* is the closest approach to "grand opera" on Broadway, although credit must be given to the creators of *Porgy and Bess* and *Carousel* for preparing the way. Here is grand opera with a difference—grand opera set in a realistic environment, employing realistic characterization and maintaining a realistic viewpoint. The possibilities opened up by *Street Scene* must be viewed with the greatest respect. Yet Messrs. Rice and Weill have not succeeded in solving the main esthetic problem posed by this enterprise—the transition from realistic dialogue to *recitatives* and operatic arias. Artificiality creeps into a work that captivates us with its authenticity. This authenticity ranges from a slum street on a hot day to the wonderful jitterbug number, "Moon-Faced, Starry-Eyed," danced on the tenement stoop by young performers (Danny Daniels and Sheila Bond) who deserve some sort of canonization for their tribute to the life-spirit. Charles Friedman's direction, Langston Hughes' lyrics, and Elmer Rice's book, as well as the truthfulness of the acting, pull one way; Kurt Weill's music, some of it quite wonderful, pulls in the other direction. When music and drama achieve a true fusion, music-drama will score a triumph that will put the Metropolitan Opera House on its mettle.

Concerning the American Repertory Theatre's *Yellowjack*, a point possibly worth making is that the American Theatre can greatly enrich itself by making more use of the art of documentary drama, which was anticipated here by Sidney Howard and was developed only a few years later by the Federal Theatre. *Yellowjack*, the "living newspapers," *Power* and *One-third of a Nation* proved conclusively that there is drama in facts, since the facts of our time are permeated with conflict. We pride ourselves on our practical idealism and our interest in facts. The factual drama represents the only other possible extension of the realism that gave birth to the modern theatre. And it so

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happens that this factual realism is technically fascinating precisely because the projection of facts and their organization into a meaningful pattern cracks the narrow mold of the conventional realistic drama. The facts of a biography or a historical situation *move*. They weave in and out, from one place to another, and from one group to another—in short, they transcend the picture-frame stage and require projection on a "space stage" consisting of many levels. These can be lit up or darkened in a fraction of a minute, so that the action can be continuous, contrapuntal and almost musical in its flow. The possibility of boredom is ruled out by the quickly transpiring, continually shifting scenes. The dramatist selects a significant episode, highlights it and projects it tersely, and goes on to the next link in the chain of facts that make up the author's story. Paradoxically, the drama of fact need never be prosaic, whereas the drama of fiction can be, and very often is, banal. Moreover, whereas fiction falls into stereotypes of boy meeting girl, adultery, domestic quarrels, *ad nauseaum*, the world of fact is infinite. In *Yellowjack*, Sidney Howard told the story of the conquest of yellow fever, and made it a high-hearted account of scientific research and self-sacrifice. The present revival, ably directed by Martin Ritt, differs from the original production by Guthrie McClintic, in employing a functional, almost bare stage arrangement of a platform and a neutral forestage that serves for any number of localities. The action therefore moves rapidly, stresses the stages of the experiment to discover the yellow fever carrier and, by dispensing with descriptiveness, actually makes the human drama the center of observation. The emphasis naturally falls on the actors. Good actors like Victor Jory, Alfred Ryder, Raymond Greenleaf and Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., make the most of the opportunity to carry the play with their performances.

It may be argued that plays and productions of this nature are not exactly calculated to draw large pleasure-seeking audiences. The argument may be granted, but only if we fatalistically accept Broadway as the only audience the theatre can have. A popular-priced theatre could reach the audiences that would respond to such a documentary; the Federal Theatre's *One-third of a Nation* had no trouble reaching an enormous public. As a matter of fact, a production like *Yellowjack* could be produced anywhere and under any condition; all that is needed is a stage, a raised platform, a few draperies and a door.

Of course, it also needs a playwright. The simplicity of the physical production is deceptive. There must be a mind and a spirit at work. It cannot be a hack undertaking in any department, and certainly not in playwriting. Sidney Howard got his facts from Dr. Paul de Kruif, himself a man of worth, but he added to them not only his skill but his passion for humanity and his lifting spirit. Science for him was a dedication to mankind. We might also add, in passing, that the pro-

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ductions can likewise be transfigured. It is not difficult to conceive a more impressive production than Martin Ritt's very competent one. The "space stage" can be treated more poetically, with more evocative use of light, music and backdrops. In the case of *Yellowjack,* the poet of theatrical production can be in his proper element, its story of Doctors Reed, Carroll and Lazear is as much a drama of the spirit as of the fact. Where this prevails, it is possible to add enchantment without violating truth or diminishing instruction.

This is a lesson that should also be assimilated by the nascent Experimental Theatre, which faces the necessity of justifying itself as fully as possible and so ensuring its continuity. Nobody has yet defined experimental drama satisfactorily. Anything that Broadway fears to produce because of the difficulty or specialness of the material or the complexity of the physical production may be considered experimental. Too often, however, calling anything experimental is a euphemistic way of calling it bad. Too often, also, the strictly experimental aspects of a play—such as the use of a narrator, symbolization, emphatic distortion and audience involvement (which generally means actors frantically running down the aisles with signs and banners)—are themselves already as conventional as the conventions of strict realism. A truly experimental play should be transfigured by the mind and the imagination. This was true, to a small degree of the Experimental Theatre's first production, *The Wanhope Building* by John Finch. It was rather less true of the second production, *O'Daniel,* which added a sound warning against demagogy among war veterans and exposed a little Napoleon in the process of lifting himself by his bootstraps. It cannot be said that the Experimental Theatre made a false start with plays. What can be argued is the failure to bring the plays to a higher degree of competence before they are presented to the public. *O'Daniel,* for instance, should have been drastically cut and stripped of its bombast before being shown. A play may be experimental, but if it bores the spectator unnecessarily instead of stimulating him, it is not experimental, it is merely boring. In the theatre, moreover, enchantment is a first consideration. Neither the plays nor the productions have succeeded thus far in casting a spell on their audience. The *O'Daniel* production, for instance, was commendably bold and ingenious, but, except in one or two short scenes, it merely hammered away at both its theme and its public. One reason for this is that in using the devices of expressionistic staging, both the authors and the director put more reliance in the devices than in individual interpretation. One serious danger that few of us escape in the theatre is the possibility of substituting the *clichés* of experimentation for the eternally fresh wonder of sensitivity, which is the only true experimentation of art.

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HIGHLIGHTIN

The International Scene

Basic to Marxism are the concepts of unceasing class warfare and conflict between communism and capitalism. In the years of wartime cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist Western powers, many observers believed that Stalin had abandoned these Marxian principles in favor of Russian nationalism and cooperation with capitalism. Russia's "new constitution" of 1936 had seemed in theory to be a step toward Western "democracy." Russia's new cooperative attitude toward religion and particularly toward the Russian Orthodox Church eased many Western minds. Bourgeois countries learned with relief that radical Soviet notions of communal living and easy divorce had been revised; the Third International was technically disbanded; rumors seeped out of Moscow that a capitalist class was rising in the U.S.S.R. to a measurable extent, during World War II, the American people were led to regard the Russians as Allies, as friends—and the Russian state as a "developing democracy."

It is generally believed that this rosy picture led the late Franklin Roosevelt to believe that cooperation—even appeasement—would bring the Russians around gradually to the Western democratic way of living. At Yalta, more than 25 months ago, Stalin pledged, with Roosevelt and Churchill, that the liberated peoples of Europe would be allowed to "create democratic institutions of their own choice," with "free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people." But since Yalta it has become apparent that such phrases as "democracy" or "free elections" mean something different in Moscow and in Washington. Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Albania with a combined population of 70,000,000 have come under the control of Russian-dominated Communist governments. To American-British complaints, the countercharge of "Fascism" has become a familiar answer. The international atmosphere has been charged with high tension as the gap between the U.S.S.R. and the Western world has become more obvious. A Russo-British split over Greece and the Dardanelles was painfully apparent. Russo-American conflict has been growing more acute in the Far East (China, Korea, Japan) and over the Atom Bomb problem. Pussyfooting did not seem to be getting anywhere. Although the government-controlled Russian press had more than once bluntly accused Great Britain and the United States of "capitalist-imperialist" conspiracy, the United States had been overcareful to give no offence.

The tension broke with Great Britain's note to the United States that she could no longer maintain her commitments in Greece. The United States was forced to make a decision: to assume world responsibility for

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"capitalist democracy" in direct and open conflict with Russia, or to let the U.S.S.R. move into the Near East vacuum as Britain pulled out.

STANDING WITH RELUCTANT FEET?

On March 12, President Truman announced his decision:

"At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life . . .

"One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression.

"The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections and the suppression of personal freedoms.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Concretely, President Truman, in his history-making address to Congress, asked for $400,000,000 for aid to Greece and to Turkey. "Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East." Of the $400,000,000, $250,000,000 would go to Greece and $150,000,000 to Turkey. The President asked also for authority to send American civilian and military personnel to the two countries.

Congress was not left in much doubt as to the implications of such a step. Declared the President: "We must be willing to help free peoples maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes." To assume such a world-wide role, after the traditional American isolationism, was indeed a "serious course." President Truman assured the Congress: "I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious."

If the Congress and the people of the United States backed Truman, this was in fact "one of the most important pronouncements ever made by an American Chief Executive." The American people were at last being asked to realize that Britain's interests were America's interests, too, and that the United States was vitally concerned not only with the fate of the Empire but with the fate of capitalist democracy the world over.

"THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE"

Since 1945 Great Britain has spent $350,000,000 in Greece to support the government and to help it maintain an army of 130,000. Since the outbreak of civil war (after the Greek liberation), the British have con-

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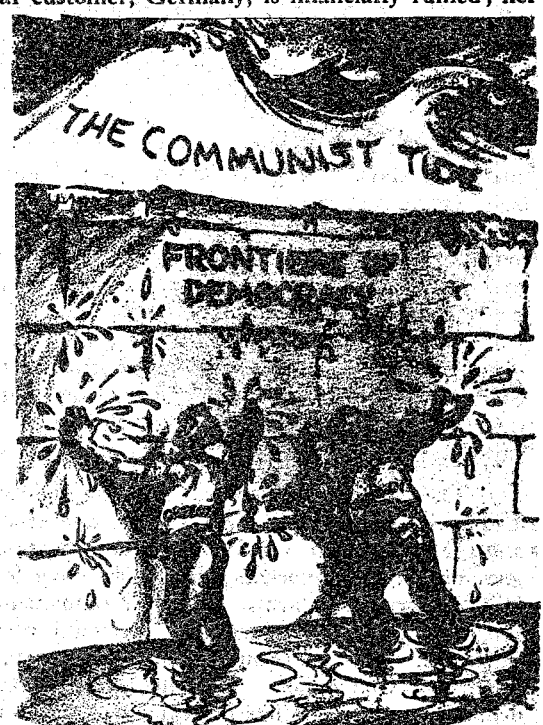
stantly intervened in Greece to block Communist domination of its government. From the days when Briton grimly fought Greek, the British have been under fire for "armed intervention" from the Russian bloc and from fellow travellers everywhere. On more than one occasion, the U.S.S.R. has used Greece as an illustration of capitalist imperialism: the Russians have not let the world forget that Great Britain is maintaining a garrison (some 16,000 men) in Greece today.

The Greek political situation is complicated by grave economic difficulties. Largely dependent for food on imports, before the war Greece imported 45 per cent of its wheat. Greek imports in an average pre-war year totaled $127,000,000, while in a good year exports reached a mere $87,000,000.[1] The gap between imports and exports before the war was closed by income on foreign investments, ($9,000,000) tourist trade ($7,500,000) income from Greeks working abroad and from Greek merchant sailors ($20,000,000) and income from the services of the Greek merchant marine ($8,500,000).

Since the war, however, there has been no way for Greece to bridge the gap. Her largest pre-war customer, Germany, is financially ruined; her merchant fleet has been largely destroyed; there is no tourist trade; exchange restrictions have cut deeply into her income from foreign investments and from Greeks abroad.

For two years U.N.R.R.A. has been giving Greece food relief in addition to Britain's financial assistance. The Greeks are still desperate for food: it is reported by a Greek official that 85 per cent of all Greek youth in grade schools, high schools, colleges and military schools are tubercular. As the Greek government stated in a note to Washington:

"For Greece to survive she must have, first, fi-



—Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

"FOR OUR OWN SAFETY WE MUST HELP"

[1] Mostly made up of tobacco, plus olives, grapes, raisins and currants.

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nancial and other assistance which will enable her immediately to resume purchase of food, clothing, fuel, seeds and the like that are indispensable for the subsistence of her people and that are obtainable only from abroad; second, the financial and other assistance necessary to enable the civil and military establishments of the Government to obtain from abroad means of restoring in the country tranquillity and a feeling of security indispensable to the achievement of economic and political recovery; third, aid in obtaining financial and other assistance that will enable Greece and the Greek people to create means for self-support in the future."

In addition to economic difficulties, Greece expects that Spring will bring open civil war once again. Although there are probably not more than 7,000 guerrillas in Macedonia and Thessaly, the poorly trained Greek army has not been able to check their activities. Partly because of guerrilla fighting and partly because of economic difficulties, the Greek government has faced recurring cabinet crises since the liberation. Demetrios Maximos is the most recent Prime Minister, succeeding Constantin Tsalderis, who remains in the cabinet. Control rests with the very conservative Populists. In the first Greek election in 10 years, held last March 31, the Populists had received overwhelming support. In the plebiscite on the Greek form of government, there were 1,166,512 votes for the King, 521,246 for a Republic (about 20 per cent of the population abstained from voting).

The Greek government, which is by no means democratic, has charged that Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania (under Russian influence) have been instigating communist rebellion and training and equipping communist guerrillas. At this writing, a United Nations Commission is investigating these charges in Greece. At the same time, the U.S.S.R. and party line followers the world over have charged that the Greek government spells Fascism and oppression. British intervention—imperialism.

The British announcement that she would have to withdraw from her Greek commitments dropped the problem squarely in the lap of the United States. No informed observer believed that Russia would regard American intervention any more kindly than British.

DRANG NACH OSTEN

The British withdrawal also highlighted the problem of Turkey. Unlike Greece, Turkey's government and economy are more or less stable and she suffered no war damage. Yet 45 per cent of the Turkish budget[1] goes for military expenses; the Turks have for the past seven years kept 600,000 men under arms. Turkey's fundamental difficulty is with Russia; the U.S.S.R. has made no bones about its interest in the Dardanelles, the control of which she wants to share only with Turkey, in defiance of the Montreux Convention. Russian agitators have stirred up the Turks by demands for the districts of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin on the Black Sea coast (territory held by Russia from 1878 to 1918). In addition, Russian

1 1,000,000,000 Turkish pounds, half the national income.

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propagandists have maneuvered to stimulate Kurdish nationalism. These machinations have only succeeded, so far, in alarming the Turks and accentuating for the Western world Soviet interest in the Near East.

American interest in this region is both political and economic. Politically, the United States cannot afford to permit Russian domination of Europe or of Asia. Economically, the United States, like Britain, has an interest in Near Eastern oil. Ever since the fiasco of Soviet attempts to dominate Iran, an American military mission has been reorganizing the Iranian army and gendarmerie. American financial and health advisors are helping the Iranian government. The American-Arabian Oil Company and the British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oil Company have announced plans for laying 2,000 miles of pipeline from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. also has political and economic interests in the Near East. Like the Western powers, Russia wants oil; she would also benefit enormously with warm water ports. Politically, the U.S.S.R. is vitally concerned with the creation of "friendly" (Communist) neighbors, oriented to Russia instead of to the United States or Great Britain.

LESSON IN SEMANTICS

All along the line conflicts between the United States and Russia were sharpening. In Moscow, General Marshall clarified for the Russians the American concept of "democracy."

"To the American government and citizens," said the General, "it has a basic meaning. We believe that human beings have certain inalienable rights—that is, rights which may not be given or taken away.

"They include the right of every individual to develop his mind and his soul in the way of his own choice, free of fear and coercion—provided only that he does not interfere with the rights of others. To us a society is not democratic if men who respect the rights of their fellow-men are not free to express their own belief and convictions without fear that they may be snatched away from their home or family."

This is the kind of democratic society the United States expects to see established in Germany. General Marshall stressed also the importance of a free press: Molotov replied that no press should be free to preach Fascism. How far apart the Russian and American ideologies are can be seen in a statement of the Russian position by M. Kuzmichev in *Problems of Journalism:*

"The aim of information does not consist in commercializing news but in educating the great mass of the workers, in organizing them under the exclusive direction of the party for clearly defined tasks. The aim will not be achieved by objective reporting of events. Liberty and objectivity of the press—these are fictions. Information is the means of class struggle, not a mirror to reflect events objectively."

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With blunt speaking and consciousness of a widening rift, the conference at Moscow got under way. The Foreign Ministers unanimously ruled for the liquidation of the old Prussian State—the only agreement evident in the Council! In the first few meetings, Mr. Molotov and General Marshall sparred and feinted for position. Molotov proposed that China's difficulties be included on the agenda; Marshall maintained that the subject could not be discussed because China was not present. In a counter-move, Marshall proposed that occupation forces in Europe be reduced; Molotov was not prepared to give an opinion.

DOWN TO BUSINESS

Molotov raised the first real issue on the agenda with a charge that demilitarization was unsatisfactory in the western zones. The Potsdam Declaration had provided that: "all German land, naval and air forces shall be completely and finally abolished." Answering Molotov's charge that Great Britain was maintaining Germans in military organizations, British Foreign Minister Bevin admitted that 84,000 former German troops were being used for mine sweeping; declared they would be released as soon as possible. He countercharged with the implication that German war prisoners might have been "induced to join" Russian armed forces; asked for the exact number of war prisoners still held in Russia.[1]

On March 15, French Foreign Minister made the first over-all proposal, recommending that the Allies systematically reduce the German population by emigration. In her customary diplomatic tradition, France is primarily concerned with curtailing the German "menace" and is anxious that Russo-American discord shall not obscure the real issues.

With this background, France studied proposals for the reorganization of the German government. On March 21, General Marshall proposed a plan for a federal Germany, with 10 to 18 *laender* (states) first headed by a provisional government composed of the heads of states. The Allied control council would not direct, operate or supervise in detail the activities of the provisional regime. Further provisions of the American plan included a prohibition on any German military establishment; requirements that no political party should have special privilege; that the constitution should be ratified by a majority of the people and a majority of the states.

Rejecting the American plan, Molotov outlined the Russian plan on March 22, in words that encouraged Marshall. He called for elections by direct proportional representation to a two-chamber parliament. The two-house legislature, the democratic constitution, (freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, universal suffrage with secret ballot)—all these details could not fail to find favor with the Western powers. Molotov's fiery assault on "federalization" seemed aimed at the German public. His praise for the ill-starred but undeniably democratic Weimar Constitution

[1] Molotov asserted that Russia would report the number held if other governments did likewise. The answers were prompt: United States, 15,103; Britain, 435,295; France, 612,877; Russia (via *Tass*), 890,532 (all these figures for prisoners held outside Germany).

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fell on hostile French and British ears (It was the Weimar Constitution[1] that opened the way to Hitler). Yet General Marshall optimistically declared: "My impression at this stage of the discussions is that there is much in common among the four views—" and pointed to the fact that "the proposals by Mr. Molotov . . . would be regarded as suggesting the federal form of government as we understand the term." In spite of Marshall's optimism, there was no denying that the French, for example, view with dread any centralization of Germany, and prefer a very loose federalization (since partition seems diplomatically impractical).

The Domestic Scene

Communists in this country were dealt a severe blow when President Truman ordered a purge of all government employees where there were reasonable grounds to doubt their loyalty. . . . The order gave the Attorney General the power to check all government employees and to list all enemy groups which are considered dangerous to the government. . . . A week before, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach declared that he couldn't see why the Communist party should be recognized at all and that Communists should not be allowed to run for any government office in any public organization.

Georgia's State Supreme Court decided that Herman Talmadge was not Governor, and put Melvin E. Thompson back in power. . . . John L. Lewis lost two rounds in his fight with the government, yielding to a Supreme Court verdict. . . . The tax cut and the budget were still being buffetted by a Congress that couldn't make up its collective mind. . . . The Republican party suffered a split that threatened to weaken its chances for gaining the Presidency in 1948. . . . Robert Taft, Ohio Senator and Republican party leader, was held responsible by his colleagues. . . . The Senate confirmation of David E. Lilienthal as head of the Atomic Energy Commission was delayed when international affairs crowded domestic issues into the background. . . . After 22 hearings, the Senate members of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee gave Lilienthal their vote of confirmation. . . . Lewis W. Douglas, former Congressman and Director of the Budget under President Roosevelt, was appointed Ambassador to Britain, succeeding O. Max Gardner, who died before he could take the post. . . . John J. McCloy, New York attorney and former Assistant Secretary of War, accepted the post as president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, organized at Bretton Woods in 1944.

RED PURGE

Testifying before the House Labor Committee, Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach aired his personal views about the Communists in the United States. "Why should we recognize the Communist party at

[1] Particularly articles 25 (providing for dissolution of Parliament) and 48 (providing for emergencyy executive government by decree).

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all" he asked. "I see no reason why we should let the Communists run for office when their purpose is to destroy this government. They should be excluded from every type of public organization, including chambers of commerce, labor groups and Congress."

Chairman Fred A. Hartley Jr., of New Jersey, quickly followed with an announcement that he would introduce a bill to outlaw the Communist party.

This was not the initial blast at the Reds. Several bills aimed at outlawing the Communists were already before the Congress. These bills attempt to make membership in the Communist party illegal, to bar Communists from government jobs; to bar them from entering the United States, and to recommend state laws outlawing the party itself.

But even ardent supporters of these measures realized that such bills would meet stiff opposition on two grounds: first, the Supreme Court has been extremely cautious in the past about restricting the rights of minority groups, since such action violates civil rights; and second, it would be wiser not to drive the Communists underground since they might thrive in such an environment. The best way to nullify the actions of the Reds, observers believed, would be to keep them in the open where the nation could watch them.

TRUMAN TAKES A HAND

President Truman threw his weight into the fight on March 22, when he ordered a purge of all government employees where "there are reasonable grounds" to doubt their loyalty.

The President proposed to set up sweeping new standards to test the loyalty of such persons. Such tests would be administered to everyone who applies for a job in the executive departments and agencies, without exception.

The Presidential order directed the agencies to submit the names of all their present employees to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a check wherever it had not already been done. The Attorney General was ordered to make a list, and keep it up to date, of all subversive organizations. Such a list is to include all "totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive" groups which advocate or approve force to deny persons their constitutional rights and who seek to change the form of government "by unconstitutional means."

Congressmen of both parties were in agreement over the virtues of such a measure, but feared that it might not be carried out forcibly enough.

OPEN THE DOOR, HERMAN

Georgia's Supreme Court voted five-to-two to reject Herman Talmadge as Governor and to reinstate Lieutenant-Governor Melvin E. Thompson. The Court declared that when Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge died, 23 days before taking office, there was no legal successor to Ellis Arnall. When Arnall held on to the administrative reins, then resigned on January 18, the authority thereby passed on to Thompson.

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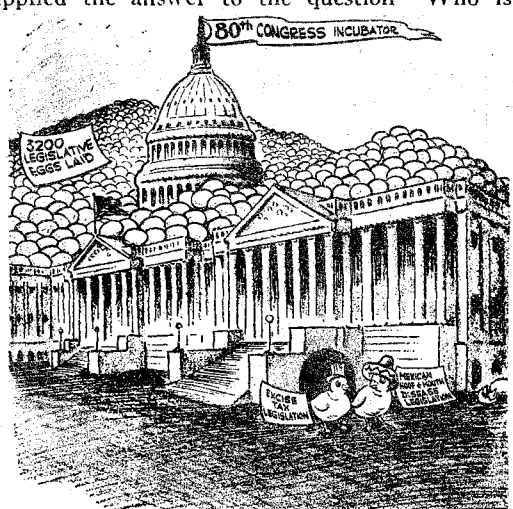
Herman Talmadge, son of the dead candidate, had no right to assume that he was Governor, nor did the "write-in" elections, which were later challenged by Atlanta newspapers, legally help his cause.

Young Talmadge, who had seized the executive offices and the Governor's mansion by force exactly nine weeks before, quietly phoned his wife, told her of the Court's decision, and advised her to pack her belongings. Then, he walked out of the Capitol, with a smile on his face, but a threat to take his case before the people on his lips.

Twenty-one Talmadge appointees to state offices were removed from their positions. All laws passed by the Assembly during Herman's reign were to be submitted to Governor Thompson, and if he did not approve them, they were to be scrapped. Among them was the White Primary Bill. Indications were that the new Governor would abolish it.

THE PEOPLE OR JOHN L. LEWIS

The Supreme Court supplied the answer to the question "Who is stronger, the People or John L. Lewis?" On March 6, Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson told the country that the Supreme Court was upholding the contempt convictions of Lewis and the United Mine Workers for disobeying Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough's order restraining them from calling their soft-coal walkout last fall. Vinson termed the Lewis policy "an attempt to repudiate and override the instrument of lawful government in the very situation in which governmental action was indispensible."


80th CONGRESS INCUBATOR
3200 LEGISLATIVE EGGS LAID
EXCESS PROFITS TAX LEGISLATION
REPUBLICAN HOPE A FOURTH TERM GREAT DEPRESSION

—Alexander in *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*
"MIGHTY SLIM HATCH"

However, the original fine of $3,500,000 was reduced to $700,000 with a proviso that the remaining amount should be paid if the United Mine Workers did not withdraw its strike order for March 31.

On March 19, Lewis bowed to the edict of the Supreme Court and withdrew his strike order "unconditionally." He sent the notice to 400,000 bituminous coal miners, instructing them that the pact he had signed with the government was to remain in effect.

TO CUT OR NOT TO CUT

Ever since President Truman submitted his $37,528,000,000 budget

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to the Congress, both the Senate and the House tinkered with it. For two months the fight has raged on, with little accord reached. Early proposals to cut the budget by six billion (the House) or by four and a half billion (the Senate) were praised, rejected, praised and rejected all over again. Compromise cuts inundated Congress, with the latest cut compromise set at five and a quarter billion.

But the budget slash was not the only measure upon which the House and the Senate could disagree. The Income Tax slash has also had its share of kicking around. Since the Eightieth Congress first convened on January 3, Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee advocated a 20 per cent cut on all income levels up to $302,000 and 10½ per cent slash above that. Other Republicans argued that this would "soak the poor" and "help the rich."

A compromise was reached on a bill that would be retroactive to January 1. Such a bill would incorporate the following cuts:

1. 30 per cent levies on taxable income (after deductions and exemptions) up to $1,000;
2. 20 per cent up to the $302,000 level;
3. ten and a half per cent on higher levels.

With many Republicans still opposing the bill, and with no agreement between the Senate and the House on the budget slash, it is impossible to predict what will eventually become of the tax reduction affair.

RIFT IN THE G.O.P.

Despite sweeping victories in last November's Congressional elections, the Republican party has been unable to muster its strength. In fact, the Republicans have hit so many snags in the road since January 3, when the predominately Republican Congress convened, that the party has been weakened. This was shown by the Gallup Poll, which announced that President Truman's chances for re-election in 1948 are better than they had been in the past.

Reason for the loss of strength in the G.O.P. has been the split within the party itself. Many factors are responsible for this split, the key factor being the personal ambitions of the G.O.P. leaders, several of whom are eyeing the Presidential prospects for 1948.

Prior to the November elections, Representative Harold Knutson of Minnesota pledged, on his own, that if put into power, the Republicans would cut income taxes 20 per cent across the board. Knutson, ranking member of the House Ways and Means Committee, saw his pledge taken up by other candidates.

With their victory achieved, the G.O.P. could not agree upon a cut in taxes. Neither could the G.O.P. agree upon the control of atomic energy. Senator Robert A. Taft, aided by Senators Wallace White, Kenneth McKellar and Kenneth S. Wherry were violently opposed to the nomination of David E. Lilienthal as head of the Atomic Energy Commission. But Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg was strongly in favor of Lilienthal.

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Labor legislation was another category that divided the G.O.P. A group led by Speaker of the House Joseph Martin would deal severely with labor, while Senator Taft favored more cautious maneuvering. The Presidential budget cut and the foreign economic policy were other points of dissension.

Perhaps a major share of the blame for this near-revolt in the Republican ranks should go to Ohio's Senator Taft, Republican leader. His own colleagues have accused him of playing bad politics and damaging not only his own Presidential hopes but the hopes of the entire party as well. He has been blamed for speaking too decisively and too early on a number of issues, and for committing himself without seeking the support of the Republican party.

Observers point to the failure of Senator John Bricker, also from Ohio, to withdraw from the "running" as Presidential candidate so that his state's support might go entirely to Taft. Does Bricker still eye the Presidency?

More internal rumblings were heard when Carroll Reece, chairman of the G.O.P. National Committee, called upon his party to follow the leader and stick together. Three newly-elected senators, Morse of Oregon, Tobey of New Hampshire and Aiken of Vermont objected. Tobey summed it up by quoting Tennyson's "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die."

Senator Harlan J. Bushfield of South Dakota added his bit by rapping Republican leadership in the Senate. "What has it accomplished? Practically nothing! . . . We have failed in everything which we promised the voters."

To soothe his party, Senator Taft called for special party conference in which many of these questions could be ironed out. But the haggling over the budget slash and tax cuts continued.

CONGRESS IN ACTION

On February 28, the House voted to outlaw portal pay suits by a margin of 345 to 56. The only exception is to be where portal pay is a "custom or practice" or is covered by a union contract. Thus, a Supreme Court decision last summer which stated that workers were entitled to portal-to-portal pay was reversed.

The House also approved three changes in the Wage and Hour Act. First, employers would avoid liability for back-pay claims if they could prove that they acted in good faith under government rulings. Second, all back-pay claims under the act would be voided unless filed within a year. Third, employers would be free to settle all claims out of court instead of being subject to government enforcement.

The Senate passed a similar measure but with a two-year limit on claims and a stipulation that would forbid wage suits without the employee's written consent. This bill was sent to the House for consideration of differences. Indications were that President Truman would veto the measure.

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Rent Control came in for its share of legislative action. After conducting a series of hearings, a subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee recommended a 10 per cent increase in rents, a continuation of rent controls until the end of the year, the transfer of enforcement power from the O.P.A. to the courts and the abolition of ceilings on new construction.

The O.P.A. itself, which was to expire March 7, was extended until June 30 by joint agreement of the Senate and House. Remaining controls on rents, sugar and rice would be enforced by other government agencies. Congress decided to abandon further prosecution of alleged black marketeers.

A proposed amendment to the Constitution was passed by the House and Senate and, if approved by three-fourths of the state legislatures within seven years, will become law. The amendment: limiting the Presidency to two terms. Main provisions of the bill are:

1. Any person elected directly to the Presidency may serve only two four-year terms.

2. A Vice-President who succeeds to an unexpired term of less than two years may be eligible for two additional terms of four years each.

3. A successor to an unexpired term of more than two years may be re-elected only once, except in the case of the incumbent, Mr. Truman.

The draft expired on March 31, although draft boards were scheduled to remain in operation until June 30 and all selective service records were to remain intact. President Truman had urged Congress to allow the draft to lapse, but felt that a universal military training program should take its place. Nevertheless, the President wanted the armed forces placed "on an entirely volunteer basis at the earliest possible moment." His estimate of the manpower requirements for 1948 was 1,641,000 which is slightly less than the present manpower of the combined armed forces.

Overheard in the Penn Library:

"You take soch?"

"Yeah."

"Pick out a good book for me on this list."

"Here's a good one—only 225 pages."

"Two hundred and twenty-five pages! Shorty read one with only 10 pages."

"Why didn't you take that course, you dope!"

* * *

A friend of ours fought bravely, but without injury, throughout the Pacific campaigns. His unit went into Japan ahead of the occupation forces to set up an airfield. The heavy work over, the boys "divied" up for a baseball game. Our friend slid into first in the last of the ninth and broke his arm. He was invalided home. Several weeks later, as he accompanied his family to church, he was stopped by an old neighbor. She laid her hand on his cast, withdrew it hastily and said: "Oh, pardon me, dear, I didn't mean to notice."

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FORUM FEATURES

Hernando J. Abaya, author of **"Failure in the Philippines,"** was, until recently, the political reporter of the United States Embassy in Manila, and earlier for the Office of the United States High Commissioner. Mr. Abaya has wide experience in the newspaper field; before the war, he was in the private office of the late President Quezon, and, during the early part of the Japanese occupation, he was "planted" in a strategic office in the puppet government as a clerk. He was placed there by an underground intelligence unit organized by a small group of progressive Filipino writers, lawyers and professional people, called the "Free Philippines." They operated in the dangerous Manila zone. Mr. Abaya did special work for the United States Army Counter-Intelligence Corps immediately after the liberation of Manila, and later worked under the late Dr. J. Ralston Hayden in the Philippine Research and Information Section of General MacArthur's headquarters.

Hernando Abaya's broad experience as a political reporter and analyst, and his particular experience in this period of transition to independence enable him to speak with authority on the United States' failure in the Philippines.

"Peace With Germany: An American Draft," appears on page 289 of the April **FORUM. Frederick Cramer,** who was born in Germany, but has lived in the United States since 1937, returns to the pages of **FORUM** with stimulating comment on another of the most controversial issues of our day. **Mr. Cramer,** a Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College, wrote **"Is The British Empire Obsolete?"** in the October, 1946, **FORUM.**

"Pressure Groups in Action" come up for analysis again in **Nancy Mayo Waterman's** article on the National Education Association. Here is the interesting story of the teacher's lobby at work.

The spotlight in the April **FORUM** seems to fall on education. A lot has been said recently about one of the most important American institutions. In the **Forum** this month, we examine the record, **"Has American Public Education Failed?" Sylvan Kling** says, "Yes." **Marjorie Fculkrod,** "No." Turn to page 338 to find our school system accused and defended. Which side of the fence are you on? Let us have your opinions next month in OUR ROSTRUM.

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